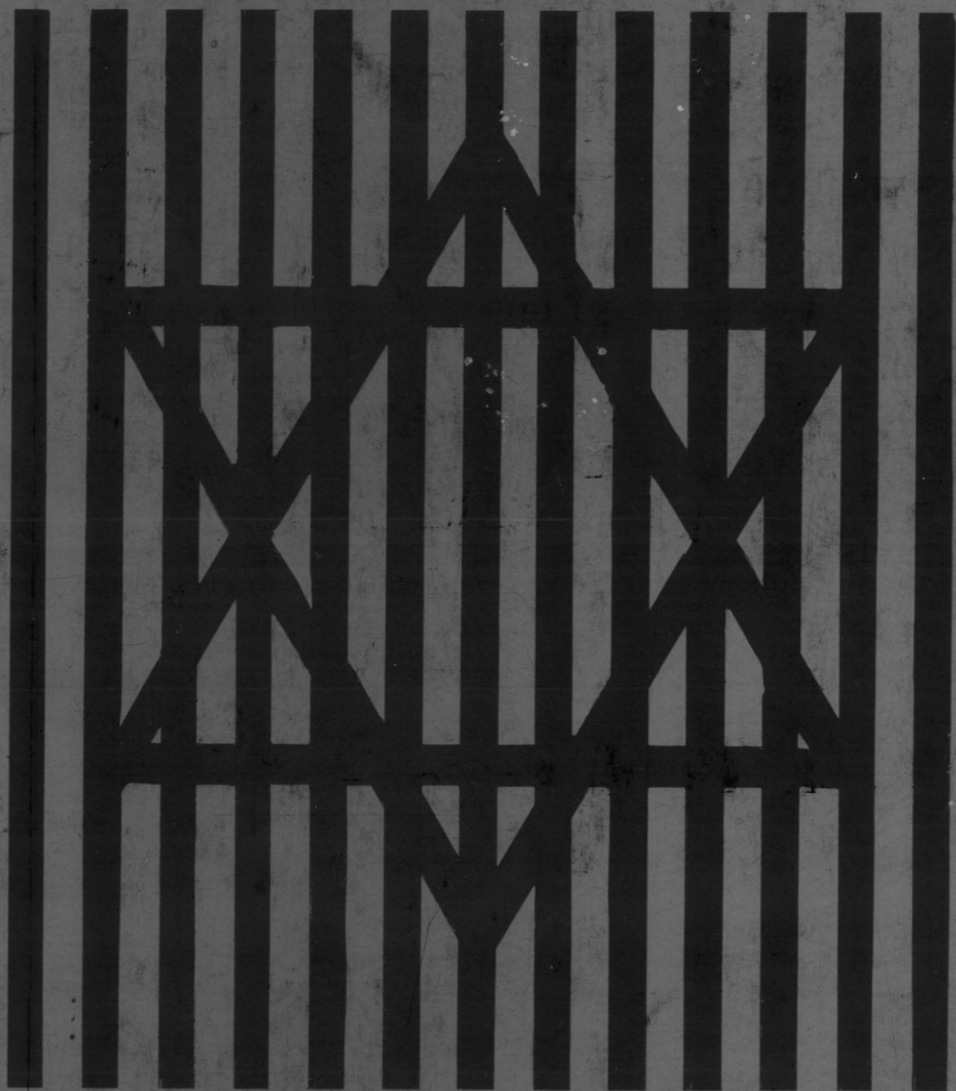


# Israel & South Africa





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## **CONTENTS**

— Aspects of Military and Nuclear Cooperation.....	Abdul Minty	4
— Two aspects : Economy and the Bantustans.....	Jane Hunter	12
— The ideological common ground.....	Israel Shahak	32
— Political Comments on Their Collaboration..	Denis Goldberg	52
— A Natural Alliance.....	Robert B. Ashmore	57
— The Power of Realpolitik.....	Yossi Melam & Dan Raviv	81
— Israeli-South African Ties.....	Glenn Frankel	89
— Sidestepping Sanctions.....	Jane Hunter	92
— Israelis Help South African Air Force.....	Jane Hunter	95

# Israel and South Africa

## Aspects of Military and Nuclear Cooperation

*Abdul Minty*

As I am the first speaker today I will make some preliminary remarks so as to put my subject in a proper context.

Since the state of Israel was created it has had important links with South Africa. And both Israel and South Africa were seen by the Western countries as important, and at times vital, outposts to protect Western interests in the regions where the two countries existed. The strategic importance placed by the West on these two countries is often underestimated. It is precisely the strategic and geopolitical roles that have led to both Israel and South Africa also taking on wider regional power roles. The importance placed by the Western countries on the need to "preserve" the state of Israel, and help defend it, has led to very strong political, economic, military and other ties being developed inevitably with Tel Aviv and now Jerusalem. This is well known. In the case of South Africa it has become more and more difficult for the Western countries to persist with their traditional, wholehearted and total support for the apartheid system. This is so because the system of white domination has, firstly, become known to the rest of the world and the exposure of conditions there has created a very powerful anti-apartheid opinion. Secondly, and this is the critical factor, there is the nature and extent of internal resistance, especially its growth in South Africa and Namibia in recent years. Thirdly, and this is of growing importance, a pro-apartheid posture by any country abroad is becoming increasingly untenable for the West since it is also a major factor in its relationships with Africa and the non-allied countries.

Now although Israel and South Africa have enjoyed close relationships in various fields since the early fifties, they only really became of crucial importance during the early seventies. South Africa was facing growing international isolation and the campaign for economic sanctions was winning new success. Thus when Britain, for example, joined the European community and South Africa lost its traditional Commonwealth trade concessions, Israel

proudly and openly asked that it be used as a backdoor for South Africa's trade and economic relations, especially with the European community and also with the several hundred products of Israeli origin which have concessions on the US market. So South African products during the seventies began to be passed on as if they were Israeli, by means of some value-added work performed in Israel.

The 1963 arms embargo against South Africa was being implemented in varying degrees by different Western countries. In certain sectors this caused inconvenience and even hardship for the Pretoria regime. So close military relationships between Israel and South Africa were developed for the following reasons: 1) to provide items no longer available from other countries; 2) to help pass on Israeli and Western technology - although people tend to emphasize US technology, they should not forget French technology; 3) to help South Africa develop its own armaments industry, train its defence and security forces, and generally help to preserve the apartheid system, for that is the sole objective of the South African military machine; 4) to assist the Bantustans not only through economical and political links but also by helping its new military and security forces; 5) to initiate and develop joint weapon systems and thus reduce the costs of production, and share technology, such as for the G5 gun.

Now the Israeli and South African relationship, evolving in this way initially for the vital economic and then later military aspects, became sealed into a vital partnership which has taken on over the years all the characteristics of an alliance relationship, with the visit in 1976 of the then South African Prime Minister Vorster to Israel. Beside economic agreements and joint scientific committees being established after that visit, Vorster also visited military plants and finalized several deals including the acquisition of *Reshef*-class patrol boats and their subsequent production in South Africa itself. At that time both Israel and South Africa denied that there were any military implications in the visit but the anti-apartheid movement's newspaper in London published a photograph of Mr Vorster sitting on one of these *Reshef* patrol boats. It was remarkable then that Vorster, who during the war was a nazi sympathizer and was interned as such, should be accorded such an honored visit by a people who have experienced so much misery and the tragedy of the war.

For South Africa, Israel's readiness to act as the sanctions buster, and a provider of military know-how, technology, weapons and ammunition was absolutely crucial. Even today the full signifi-

cance of Israel's contribution towards helping the apartheid machine, in particular in military and economic aspects, to overcome a severe crisis, is not fully appreciated, particularly the crisis as faced in the seventies.

Part of the problem here is that there is so much loyalty to Israel in the West, political solidarity, that the facts which do exist are not well publicized, or when publicized, are immediately attacked. The truth, then, in terms of the Israeli-South African relationship has great difficulty in surfacing in the first place, or if it does, is simply ignored to the point that it virtually makes no difference in the political process. However, as the South African war expands and the regime becomes more vulnerable to inside resistance in Namibia, and with the attacks on the frontline states - the destabilization - and as South Africa takes on a regional power role with its own presence in the Oceans, in Antarctica, with its nuclear weapons program, as this threat grows, the role of Israel becomes more important. Israel becomes more important for the maintenance of apartheid and for the apartheid regional power role, but at the same time Israel also becomes more vulnerable because of the existing anti-apartheid pressure in the rest of the world which may then focus on Israel. That is why some very quick footwork is being done now in Washington, Tel Aviv and Pretoria.

Now concerning the specific military items that have been supplied to South Africa from Israel, I don't want to make a complete list because you can read the relevant books and find without a doubt that this issue is not even one of controversy and in fact those cases to be mentioned are even agreed upon by Israel. So it is not a matter of controversy that the *Reshef*-class patrol boats were given to South Africa precisely when France stopped supplying naval vessels. South Africa could not get large vessels or submarines and therefore they went for these patrol boats. The patrol boats were equipped with *Gabriel* missiles, later made in South Africa and called *Scorpion*. The *Mirages* that South Africa had from France were very old. When France stopped supplying those aircraft to Israel, Israel developed, from stolen papers, they say, its own *Kfir* plane, identical to the *Mirage* with the exception of the engines which are of US origin. When the French cut off servicing the South African *Mirage* planes, and providing spare parts, the London Times reported that Israel filled the gap and helped South Africa to keep those *Mirages* operational. Now we see South Africa proclaiming that it has the *Cheetah* aircraft, the adapted *Mirage*. The adaptation, according to all defence journals, is identical to the *Kfir*, both in its wing and



nose descriptions. A few weeks before the announcement of the *Cheetah*, the South Africans claimed they developed their own helicopter. We released from our office in Oslo information to show that this helicopter was not a South African one, but designed abroad. Therefore when the *Cheetah* was announced, South Africa itself conceded that it was very similar to the Israeli aircraft.

Then there is the G-5 gun, a 155 mm one, taken from Space Research in the United States by South Africa. Israel announces that it has developed a home-grown 155 mm gun. A little later South Africa announces that it has its own home-grown 155 mm gun. And then "Presto", Taiwan comes up with its own 155 mm gun. So here are remarkable feats of technology which could never be produced in Vermont, USA for practical purposes, but developed by South Africa, Israel and Taiwan, in turn, but none of them saying that they have any relationship with each other.

Then one is reminded of the conferences in 1969 when the then defence minister, now president of South Africa, announced that they had called together group of nations to work out means of cooperation and formed what he called a *Pariah* club. When the press asked who belong to this *Pariah* club, he replied that it was a sixth international, to be composed of - here we are - South Africa, Israel, possibly Taiwan, South Korea, if they can get them in, but certainly Chile, Paraguay and at that time Argentina and other so called unpopular regimes in Latin America. The reason given by the South African defence minister at that time was that all these countries are outposts of the West but now some strange things are happening in the West. That is, public opinion interferes with the flow of arms to these countries sometimes cutting it off. Therefore, since they are so dependent on Western arms they ought to cooperate in joint weapons production so as to reduce the costs and also their vulnerability. And if one is vulnerable in one period, and the other is not, you can secure arms that way. This was quite openly disclosed by Botha, and so developed, if you wish, the sixth international, or the *Pariah* club, as Botha called it.

Israel also, of course, serves as a route for smuggling technology as well as weapons. We have stopped, through the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, arms going from Austria to South Africa. They ended up in Copenhagen, were returned to Austria and were then flown via Tel Aviv to South Africa. We have even provided the UN Security Council with the actual air flight logs showing that this has indeed happened, but no action has taken place.

I am running out of time but would like to talk about the nuclear cooperation. There is no doubt today that South Africa has nuclear weapon capability. In august 1977, South Africa planned to test a nuclear device in the Kalahari Desert, but when the Western powers intervened, the prime minister postponed that explosion. So in 1979 we saw an explosion detected by an US satellite in the southern oceans. Various intelligence services, including the CIA, as well as the Swedish government's assessment at that time, report that this was a joint explosion. In other words, they believed that South Africa at that point didn't have the capability to develop and detonate its own device but that Israel had cooperated with South Africa to do so. Recently we now see that South Africa is also developing an air base on Marion Islands which are midway between the South African coast and the Antarctic region, and offering this facility to others. Israeli scientists have visited that base. And one wonders if this is part of further preparations for additional tests and operations in that region.

Israel's nuclear capability is well known. If there is any doubt, one just has to read the Sunday Times of Britain to see what has happened to the author of the article exposing Israeli nuclear armaments. Through an action which one can only call international gangsterism, he was kidnapped at a European airport and taken back to Israel. And now he is under trial, secretly, for having revealed the truth about Israel's nuclear capability. So the two countries have what they try to call - I mean the experts call it - "the-bomb-in-the-cellar strategy", that is that they never admit to the fact that they have nuclear weapons but they do enough to make everybody believe that they have nuclear weapons. This is a very clever technique since if you admit that you have nuclear weapon capability, then pressures will be exerted on the Western countries to stop nuclear relations with you. So you never admit it. But at the same time you make sure that your nuclear capability is known to everyone, so that the threat remains. So this bomb in the cellar is now well above, of course, and everyone knows it but we still cannot get the political action to stop the links. Then everyone knows too that South Africa is the third biggest producer of uranium, both through uranium produced in Namibia and in South Africa itself. And as a result of that it provides uranium to Israel. Now you may have seen that US sanction measures against uranium are being by-passed in so far as the US administration has decided that it will allow South African uranium to come to the United States to be enriched and sold to South African customers. It is a secret, of

course, who these customers are but one doesn't have to do much guessing. I should point out that we have been working for some 7-8 years to exclude South Africa from the international atomic energy agencies, where it is sitting on committees, including the uranium enrichment groups. And when we have tried to exclude South Africa it is very interesting that, for example, several Nordic countries state that they do not want to exclude South Africa because they believe in the universality of international institutions. In other words, when you have an international institution, South Africa as a state must be included and not discriminated against. But in the corridors when we talk to Nordic and other countries, including the Netherlands, they say, "you see, we really could make an exception for South Africa but we don't because we know very well that if you succeed with South Africa, Israel will be next on the list". I want to emphasize this because this shows the political problems we have when we are tackling the question of South Africa. That we are often not succeeding on grounds entirely correct in the case of South Africa is related to the fear by the Western lobby that if we succeed with South Africa, Israel will be the next on the list. Therefore as an act of solidarity with Israel they prevent South Africa's exclusion from these bodies. This is an underestimated problem.

Finally I should point out that the pro-Israeli sentiments in the West make it very difficult for anyone to objectively discuss the relationships, but now there are certain troubles ahead. You know there is a way in which when crooks or thieves fall out, they start accusing each other. So now we are getting into a crisis concerning South Africa. It is no longer tenable for anybody to have links with South Africa. Everybody wants to stand in line and say that they support sanctions, even if they don't, simply because there is such strong public opinion in that direction. So now we have a congressional act which says that anyone who supplies arms to South Africa would thereby forfeit military assistance from the United States. In the United States that has to go through some procedures, so next week on Tuesday you will have a report submitted to congress that will show that Israel is on the top of the list of arms busters. And already the quick footwork I have been talking about has been started. The Israeli defense minister has been to South Africa secretly in February. The head of the South African desk in Israel has also visited South Africa, in February, but not secretly. And they say that they are reviewing relationships. The review is causing a crisis because Israel clearly wants to give the impression, now, that it

may have made some mistakes by supplying arms in the past. But now it is going to clean up and not supply any further arms to South Africa, because, in addition, it is also the time when they are trying to reestablish links with black Africa. Remember that in 1973 these were broken so the alliance with South Africa went on. Now when the links with black Africa are increasing, South Africa is an embarrassment. So they move in the direction to try and make sure that they can conceal the relationships. How can this be done? I think that this has already caused some problems for Pretoria since the South African foreign minister has now publicly, in a note to Israel, reminded Israel that if they stop their military links it can only be detrimental to their relationship. And of course South Africa has economic interests there.

I should just like to list here that in November last year, Israel supplied South Africa with *Boeing* inflight refueling planes which enable the South African *Mirage* planes to reach targets well beyond its own borders in the frontline states; that in May, 1983 the *Scout*-aircraft, unpiloted, remotely controlled plane which crashed in Maputo Bay was of Israeli origin; that the aircrash of President Samora Machel, an avionics accident as it is described by the technical journals, induced by false beacons, would have required, though not vital but useful, electronic jamming devices. And the two countries in the world which have used and perfected such electronic jamming devices are Israel and the United States of America. And then we also find politically that every time Israel strikes against countries in the Middle East, South Africa worries about what it should do with African countries - it happened in 1966 and after that South Africa used the Israeli example to say, "look, when we are naughty and attack another country in violation of international law, all that can happen is that the UN Security Council meets and says that you are naughty." The Western governments protect you with their vetos and no action is taken against them. So you can ignore the UN and the noise and just go on attacking. So South Africa copied almost exactly the Israeli attacks in the Middle East in the region of southern Africa and looks upon Israel as a model to emulate.

There are two other aspects but I have no time to go into them. Israel, South Africa and northern Ireland are the only countries in the world which have the problem of dealing with urban counter-insurgency. Because remember in South Africa you don't fight a classical guerrilla war as people have understood it in other areas. Therefore they have a vested interest in a whole lot of repressive

technology and means to control city populations. Therefore in the 1960's Israel sent its first team to South Africa to study firefighting, joint firefighting and so on. And these areas produce cooperation of a particular kind which helps the South African regime maintain the level of control which it has so far.

I should end by saying that there are now very powerful reasons for suspecting that Israel is not reducing, but increasing, this military posture because of its involvement with UNITA. The Zaire relationship has been increased. Israel is involved in those bilateral relationships where the United States has just announced that it is going to expand its base in Zaire and even have joint exercises with Zaire. One cannot imagine a more unequal relationship. But, nevertheless, the region is at stake because there may be a revolution in southern Africa.

So to conclude, in the navy there are critical areas of support by Israel as well as critical areas of support in the airforce. I have described some such support for the army, not all, but for instance the G-5 gun, the missiles and the electronics are areas of support for South Africa from Israel.

I should just end by saying that these relationships are secretive by nature. It is very difficult to establish the facts. But once the facts are established, one has to deal with them in the political atmosphere in which we find ourselves today in the West. And therefore it is also important to have these kind of seminars to educate the public and create an atmosphere where the facts and the truth will not be so easily hidden. Then perhaps people will openly debate that relationship.

# Israel and South Africa

## Two aspects: Economy and the Bantustans

*Jane Hunter*

### Economy

#### *Economic Cooperation*

In addition to South Africa's cash and strategic mineral contributions to Israeli-South African military undertakings, the two have forged economic links that are as strategic as they are profitable. They are almost as well concealed as the military commerce between the two nations, enabling Israel to claim that its trade with South Africa is insignificant.

However, well before grassroots campaigns in the U.S. and Britain prompted the exodus of big business from South Africa and, in the case of the U.S., the imposition of economic sanctions, Israel qualified in many ways as South Africa's most important trading partner. This determination was reached by adding the undisclosed amounts of the weapons Israel sells to South Africa and the diamonds it obtains from the white-run state.

Because the diamonds are sold from a London office by the South African DeBeers syndicate, the Central Selling Organization, which has a lock on the world market for uncut stones, they do not appear in statistics of two-way trade between Israel and South Africa. Polished diamonds are Israel's largest single export item, accounting for over \$1.5 billion in 1986. There is very little value added in the polishing: imports for 1986 were \$1.25 billion.

Also invisible in the published statistics of trade between the two nations are revenue from joint military and civilian enterprises of Israel and South Africa. The known civilian undertakings are Zimcorn, a shipping company, and South Atlantic Corporation, a fishing enterprise. A range of business activities are carried out by one in the economy of the other. Iskoor, the Israeli-South African steel company which makes tank armor, is owned by South Africa and Israel's Histadrut trade union federation, and operates in Israel.

Thus, although the revealed statistics of trade between Tel Aviv and Pretoria seem rather paltry - \$66.4 million Israeli exports to South Africa and \$187 million exports from South Africa to Israel -

it is important to bear in mind that they reflect only trade in items both sides are willing to make public. These include coal, steel, base metals, timber, tobacco, hides, wool, paper, minerals, and foodstuffs from South Africa and from Israel finished products such as computer software, agricultural and other types of machinery, textiles, pharmaceuticals, electrical goods, and "safety and security products." Although trade grew by a multiple of ten between 1970 and 1979 (from \$20.9 million to \$199.3 million) the numbers on paper certainly do not seem large enough to explain the existence of dynamic Israel-South Africa Chambers of Commerce in Tel Aviv and Johannesburg, or the annual meetings of finance ministers under the framework of the ministerial committee set up during the 1976 Vorster talks. By contrast, Israel exported \$2.2 billion worth of goods and services to the U.S. in 1985.

What is truly remarkable is the unrevealed and hence uncalculated scope of Israeli-South African economic cooperation. It goes well beyond weapons and diamonds, falling under the broad category of investment in each other's economies, but it is most notably directed to helping South Africa escape the rigors of the sanctions which, in an effort to force the white minority government to dismantle apartheid, the international community has begun to impose.

South Africa has a significant interest in the Israeli economy, providing 35 percent of all non-U.S. investment in the three years prior to 1984. This South African investment, "tens of millions dollars...has been an important source of new funds for Israeli industry and construction."

Although originally an exception to South Africa's extraordinarily tight currency and trade laws, the export of Jewish contributions to Israel, was expanded under the 1976 bilateral agreements as a unique dispensation for South African citizens to invest in approved projects in Israel. In 1980, the white minority government also gave permission for Israeli government bonds to be sold in South Africa. While Israelis trying to minimize the extent of their country's economic relations with South Africa will often explain that dealing with Pretoria enables South African Jews to get their capital out of the country, a South African newspaper points out:

..investors in Israel today include names off the company boards of the (Johannesburg Stock Exchange). For the individual or smaller corporate investor, there exists a handful of Israeli companies whose specific business is to attract

(South African) and other foreign investment in joint ventures.

In fact, raising funds from the Jewish community and boosting business links with South Africa go hand in hand. In 1982, on one of the annual meetings established under the 1976 agreements, Israeli Finance Minister Gideon Pat visited South Africa and:

(took) part in 17 meetings of the emergency (a reference to Israel's invasion of Lebanon that June) bonds fundraising group, will meet with economic officials and will see to increasing investments by South African companies in Israel.

South African capital has contributed to major Israeli infrastructural projects. Development projects in the Negev desert, a coal loading facility, a Mediterranean-Dead Sea water diversion project, a major insurance company, tourist and sport facilities and commercial and residential real estate as well as a railroad linking Tel Aviv with the Red Sea port of Eilat. Other approved areas for South African investment include film production, oil exploration, and the purchase of shares in Israeli companies to increase production capacity, all areas of obvious benefit to South Africa.

### *The Springboard*

Although Israel's economy hit the skids in the 1980s, South African businessmen have had a compelling motive for continuing to invest their money in the Jewish state: Israel provides a tried and true "springboard" into markets where South African products are unwelcome. Since the late 1970s South Africans have been establishing joint ventures in Israel where their cheap-labor products are bought for final assembly and marked with a "made in Israel" label. Shipped abroad, these products enter U.S. and European markets under Israel's duty free entitlement. Israel has a free Trade Agreement with the U.S. under which all tariffs will be removed by 1995; a similar agreement with the EEC allows duty-free entry for all Israeli nonagricultural products.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, such an opportunity was particularly attractive to South African businessmen, as their own highly protected economy was faced with steep tariffs by Western trading partners. In 1977 in conjunction with the South Africa-Israeli Chamber of Commerce, the Universities of Tel Aviv and Stellen-



bosch presented a series of seminars in South Africa entitled "Israel: Crossroads of International Trade," to acquaint South African businessmen with the benefits of exporting via Israel.

In 1979, South African industrialist Archie Hendeler, whose joint venture in Israel manufactured kitchenware, noted that "the main reason for going into Israel is to gain access to the Common Market" on Israel's favorable terms.

In the mid 1980s, as sanctions began to threaten South African exports, the use of Israel as a springboard or back door into Western markets became even more attractive. In 1983 the Israeli Finance Minister went to South Africa with specific proposals for joint industrial ventures that the South African Government could establish with Israel.

How effective has this bilateral conniving been? What is the actual amount of goods Israel has helped South Africa sneak into the market baskets of unwitting consumers? That, of course, is difficult to determine - especially since no one has tried very hard to unearth the facts. It has been known for a decade that Iskoor has been representing the South African steel industry in the European Economic Community. It was reported in 1980 that the Israeli government's agricultural marketing board, Agrexco, was selling South African fruit in the U.S. South Africa's large electronics firm (owned by the Oppenheimer holding company Anglo American) Control Logic mated with the Israeli Elron group to form Conlog, whose business is to springboard South African products from Israel. The United Nations, in 1981, published a report containing the names of several companies and their products - Koor, owned by Histadrut, and Sentrachem, a South African fertilizer and chemical concern; Israel's Polichrom and South African's Chemtra, exporting chemicals for the paints and plastic industries; Transvaal Mattresses, exporting with Israel's Greenstein and Rosen; and Israel's Muenster foods, selling the South African brands Honey Crunch, Epol and Vital - but this did not contain the brand names under which South African products were sold abroad.

In one more recent case, products were sold with no labels. The Hanita kibbutz, which is affiliated with the labor movement

buys drills and other small tools from South Africa and reexports them to Japan, South Korea, the European Economic Community and the United States...The products are sold with no marks to identify them as either Israeli or South

African. Histadrut, the parent of Koor, is involved in a great deal of the South African trade and the Hanita Kibbutz is no aberration.

What is certain is that as the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. gathered force via local and union boycotts of South African products, and local and institutional divestment from corporations involved in South Africa and, in 1985 and 1986 pushed a sanctions legislation to the top of the Congressional agenda, Israel and South Africa both stepped up efforts on this type of sanctions busting.

In September 1985, the South African Ministry of Trade and Industry released an Export Bulletin reminding exporters:

(Companies) can use Israel as a production base from which they can export their goods duty-free to the U.S. provided value added in Israel is at least 35% of the article's value when it enters the U.S.

A Johannesburg daily said that "Local companies say they are being encouraged by senior Israeli officials." A November 1985 report noted a 53 percent increase of South African exports to Israel between the previous January and May.

Also in November 1985, the white South African government set up an office to coordinate "nonconventional trade" through "other countries." Several months earlier an Israeli businessman, Amnon Rotem, had offered himself to the South African government as "a middleman in channeling (South African) exports to European and American markets... duty free" and said the scheme would require "a large investment" by the government. By year's end, "new strategies to counter the challenge on sanctions and boycotts by overseas political lobbies" were in place, and South Africa's export had risen 44 percent in the first 10 months of the year over the corresponding period the previous year. During the first two months of 1986, South African exports increased again by 25 percent over the first two months of 1985. Although it is not possible to establish a direct relationship with the increased South African exports, Israeli imports of merchandise did register a gain of 11.4 percent in the first five months of 1986 over the corresponding period in the previous year. In August 1986, the South African minister of trade and industry urged censorship of trade statistics, which "could easily be used by our adversaries".

South Africa has tried to organize businessmen in a number of Western countries and to establish front companies in dependent African countries.

For instance, a joint South African-Israeli operation called Liat has recently set up shop in the West African nation of Sierra Leone and a number of South African companies operate in Swaziland.

A great portion of South Africa's sanctions busting strategy has involved Israel. As early as July 1984, the senior general manager of Iscor Ltd., the South African partner in Iskoor, met with Israeli leaders to discuss the consortium of South African companies and banks proposed to finance - to the tune of \$250 - \$300 million - the completion of the Eilat railroad. "The railway to the Red Sea port city would spark new life into the flagging port facilities and would help speed South African exports to their destinations in Israel."

Despite mounting pressures from international circles and within its own ruling establishment - a former director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry urged Tel Aviv to downplay "the public aspect of the South Africa connection" and also to resist "the pressures (of) some South African businessmen" and their Israeli counterparts "who have their links with influential politicians here" to act as an export conduit for South Africa - Israel has continued to respond to the white government's need as if helplessly in its thrall.

The grim news for anti-apartheid activists is that South Africa, 54 percent of whose trade is already clandestine, would only need to boost its sanctions-busting by 16 percent to compensate for the U.S. sanctions now on the books.

In late 1986 both Israel and South Africa were embarrassed by an advertisement placed in the Johannesburg paper Business Day offering "unconventional trade" services including "transshipments, re-invoicing, document recertification, temporary warehousing, bartering and buybacks." The Voyager Corporation in Tel Aviv placed the ad. Its South African agent said it had been placed in error by U.S. associates!

In June 1986, in an effort to head off demonstrations marking the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the apartheid government instituted its most brutal state of emergency to date. At the last moment, Israel followed other Western governments in a 24-hour closure of its Pretoria embassy. The Israeli Knesset took the opportunity to issue some elegant statements condemning apartheid. One of these claimed, "Israel as the state of the Jewish people

is committed to stand at the head of those who negate apartheid and fight for human rights." Prime Minister Peres said, "We know it is impossible to compromise with racial discrimination."

Less than two months later, with one official privately warning "in the end, we're going to have to pay a heavy price for this," a delegation departed for South Africa, under the leadership of the director general of the Finance Ministry. The director general said that the annual agreements with South Africa were about to expire and Israel justified the trip by pointing out that the delegation was for the first time not headed by the finance minister himself.

The talks were said to concern Israel's fishing rights in South African waters, a better deal on credits for its coal imports, and, most significantly, increased South African investment in and trade with Israel. The talks "highlight(ed) Israel as a potential weak link in the chain of international sanctions against South Africa."

The trip, taken when South African authorities were jailing and torturing thousands of anti-apartheid activists, made international headlines and prompted intense speculation on the role of Israel (and the South African Jewish community) as "South Africa's insurance policy against isolation." A statement issued after the talks said they had been held in "a friendly atmosphere" and "were fruitful and continued trade and financial cooperation is considered to be in the interest of both countries." It was also announced that South African investment in Israel would be allowed up to about \$15 million during the coming year.

Meanwhile, to revive its beached economy, Israel is banking on a more sophisticated and aggressive marketing campaign for its exports to the U.S. and specialization in high technology development and exports, another area of vital concern to South Africa, which will be discussed below.

It is worth contemplation whether protection for Israel is embedded in the agreement the two governments have signed, should international attention some day turn from South Africa to focus on Israel's human rights abuses. One known area of such cooperation is the coal which Israel receives from South Africa.

Israel was badly traumatized by the oil prices of the 1970s, and by the abrupt cessation of its oil supply when the Shah of Iran was overthrown in 1978. It later returned the Sinai oilfields to Egypt under the Camp David Accords. Although Israel's oil supply is guaranteed by the U.S. and Mexico, and it is therefore not subject to the threat of boycott, there is no guarantee that the price won't go

through the roof again. Because of its refusal to sign the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty, Israel has also been unable to find a country willing to help it build nuclear power plants. South African coal companies have not only signed a series of contracts to deliver increasingly large allotments of coal to Israel for power generation, but South Africa has promised to join Israel in a naval escort should there be a problem with making deliveries. Israel has built a new coal-fired generator and unloading facilities and is "aggressively moving" toward coal-fired powerplants.

### *Israel's Stake in South Africa*

Israel obviously does not compare in size of investment to U.S. and European participation in the South African economy, as the latter occurs through national and multinational corporations. However, Israeli investment in South African enterprises has shot up recently; excluding the United States and Western Europe, Israeli investment in 1983 and 1984 trailed only Taiwanese investment and included investment in South African steel enterprises, with ten new Israeli enterprises reported in 1984. A 1985 report said Israeli investment in South Africa had grown "tenfold" in two years. Meanwhile, U.S. and European firms are leaving South Africa in droves.

What the Israeli investment might lack in volume, it makes up by being concentrated in two key areas: high technology and the bantustans, the austere tribal reserves to which the white government has exiled more than half of the black majority.

Scientific cooperation - in the civil as well as the military sphere - was a major element in the 1976 Vorster agreements, and what has been provided on a commercial basis (with either private or parastatal enterprises) seems to have been in close conjunction with the bilateral undertakings. As time goes by and one of the most powerful effects of international sanctions - that South Africa will be left by the wayside of technological progress - does not come to pass, the significance of the Israeli contribution will be understood, perhaps lamented.

Visiting Israel in the fall of 1986, S. Kruger, the director of the South African Department of Trade and Industry, noted that "Israel could provide much of the high-technology needed by South Africa."

Although much of the collaboration in technology has seen South African money going to the Israeli industrial sector, some energy

has been directed toward providing the Boers with their own industrial applications. The 1983 agreement, according to the South African Finance Minister Owen Horwood,

covered joint projects already tackled and still to be tackled by the two countries. It also made provision for the freer flow of money between the two countries and the setting up of mutual trade and credit and cooperation in the spheres of agriculture, technology and research.

Out of that agreement was born the Israel/South Africa Industrial and Agricultural Research and Development Programme. Working under the direction of Saidcor (South African Inventions Development Corporation) and the Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry, the program establishes bi-national partnerships for specific projects. To date the projects have included educational software, computerized water management systems, and an enhancement of the capability of South Africa's Posts and Telecommunications Department. Under consideration are a laser-material processing center and a pilotless (drone) crop spraying plane.

In 1984, the Israeli minister of science and development and South Africa's ambassador to Israel met and announced that Israel and South Africa would strengthen scientific and research ties. In early 1985, a South African delegation concluded a visit to Israel by secretly signing yet another agreement with Tel Aviv for cooperation in science and technology. According to similar reports in *Jane's Defense Weekly* and the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, the "joint ventures and projects in high technology fields" stipulated by the contract were worth \$5 million. The agreement was negotiated by the Israeli ministers of finance and trade and industry. It was then approved by the Israeli cabinet.

(That two such articles should evade Israeli censorship is highly unusual. It might even be that the story was floated as an attempt at a priori damage control. Thus, the suspiciously low figure of \$5 million might have been given with the idea that later on it could be cited to prove the "minimal" nature of Israel's dealings with South Africa.)

The inclusion in the trade delegation that visited South Africa in August 1986 of a representative from the chief scientist's office points to yet another increase in Israeli cooperation with South Africa in the sphere of civilian technology. Israel and South Africa have held 14 joint scientific symposiums, nine in Israel and five

in South Africa. The last one was held in 1984 at Ben Gurion University in the Negev. South African money has also been poured into Israel's Technion, the country's major scientific university. In 1984 the South Africa Advanced Manufacturing Systems Building and Laser Laboratory, financed by \$1.5 million from South African, was dedicated.

It is in this institutional context that Israeli investment in South Africa must be regarded. At least a dozen major Israeli companies have invested in South African operation, among them the military electronics firms noted above. Afitra, one of many companies owned by the Israeli labor federation Histadrut, whose giant Koor is a major player in South Africa, markets some of Israel's most sophisticated products (advanced software, computerized milling machines, emergency lightning systems, etc.) as well as products of Israel's kibbutzim, or collective farms. Another Israeli firm, Agri-Carmel, brings the latest Israeli agricultural development to South Africa. Agri-Carmel is a partnership of the Israeli parastatal Agridev and the South African company Geber Goldschmidt.

### **The Bantustans**

A critical element of Israeli investment in South Africa is a rapacious "private enterprise" interest in the bantustans, the barren pseudo-states that warehouse much of the black majority. The centerpiece of apartheid, the bantustans were envisioned as "tribal homelands", putting forth the fiction of South Africa as a number of diverse tribal groups. The "white" tribe, which did the geographical engineering, just happened to have the homeland with all the industrial infrastructure, rich farmland and access to transport.

The Israeli government provides development and military aid and a measure of political recognition for the bantustans accorded by no other government. This has been especially evident in the case of Ciskei, an enclave of 600,000 near Cape Town, which has been described as "one of the most economically underdeveloped areas in the world and also one of the poorest in Africa."

During the 1983 Israeli-South African bilateral economic meeting, the Israeli radio reported: "It was...decided that close ties will be established between Israel and Ciskei, one of the puppet states set up in South Africa for the blacks." The radio quoted South African reports that Israel would also supply weapons to Ciskei. The Israeli government denies it now, but it was reported to have signed an arms contract with Ciskei in 1982. A twin engine jet

once used by Israeli Prime Minister Begin was sold at a nominal cost, and "special weapons and knowhow" were also transferred to Ciskei.

Included in the deal was the gift of a police dog to Charles Sebe, security chief and the brother of bantustan "President" Lennox Sebe. During the summer of 1984, a group of farmers from Ciskei studied on Israeli kibbutzim and moshavim (communal and cooperative settlements, respectively).

In late 1982, Ciskei had established a trade mission in Tel Aviv. It appointed Yosef Schneider and Nat Rosenwasser as representatives. Schneider had previously served as an aide to extremist Knesset Member Meir Kahane. Rosenwasser was a member of the Herut Party Central Committee. Herut is the dominant component of the Likud coalition. Schneider and Rosenwasser had arranged a number of tours to Ciskei for Israeli notables. Undoubtly their work encouraged Israeli entrepreneurs, some of them former officials, others with close connections to the highest echelons of the Israeli governing establishment, to avail themselves of the cornucopia of investment incentives offered by the minority government in Pretoria to lure employers to Ciskei and the other bantustans.

By July 1984 there were 60 Israeli entrepreneurs in operation in Ciskei. Ephraim Poran, former Prime Minister Begin's military secretary, went in with two other major Israeli industrialists to establish the Ciskatex textile factory. Other enterprises taking advantage of Ciskei's cheap labor were a plant of the apparel company Indian Head, Oren Toys and Classic Cars, an establishment belonging to former Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, which manufactures vintage automobile replicas.

In 1985, there were 200 Israelis - advisers and technicians as well as entrepreneurs - in Ciskei. Ciskei presented special opportunities because of the exalted level of brutality of its leader Lennox Sebe, and his consequent insecurity. Bisho, the "capital" of Ciskei was "rife with stories of the 'fast buck' approach of Israeli entrepreneurs." An explicit look at their activities was provided in 1985, when a scandal burst into the international press as the 'authorities' of Ciskei announced - via large advertisements in the Israeli press - that it had closed the bantustan's trade mission in Israel and fired its Israeli representatives.

The scams in which many of the Israeli investors became involved were auctioning, or subcontracting, of contracts - many of these were awarded without bids, often far above actual cost - to South African companies. Many of the Israelis participating in



these deals did so through shell companies.

A key contact for the Israelis was Dr. Hennie Beukes, the only white "minister" - his portfolio was "health" - in Ciskei's "cabinet," who was said to have acted as intermediary in many Israeli activities in Ciskei. These included two hospitals built by the Gur Contruction Company which Ciskei rejected. (In their off hours, Gur's workers built a bar and swimming pool at Beuke's residence.)

Beukes also arranged for a \$10 million pilot training project, which sent 18 trainees to Israel to receive training that critics charged was inferior and overpriced. It is unclear whether the training was for commercial or military aviation. A South African paper noted that Ciskei had two air bases and said Israeli Air Force instructors were to give preliminary training to Ciskeians before they attended pilot classes in Israel.

Beukes also arranged the contracts for Israeli military advisers to work as body guards and military trainers in Ciskei. One company, Tammus - its owner a former Israeli artillery officer - made \$300,000 a year providing security advisers to Ciskei "President" Sebe. Tammus was one of the first Israeli firms to have its Ciskeian contracts canceled.

Ira Curtis, the Israeli owner of the flight school, also bribed the Ciskeians to choose U.S. aircraft, which he attempted to smuggle into the South African tribal reserve, over superior French aircraft. The planes were bought for Ciskei by listing Israel on the sale documents.

In 1984, the Israeli government was forced to reassure Pretoria that it was not involved in a scheme for cheap Israeli flights from Ciskei to Israel and on to Europe. Word of the flights, which would compete with the government-owned South Africa Airways, had sparked a South African government protest to Israel. The apartheid regime warned that it would not be liable for Ciskei's debt for projects that were in the category of "urgent development" and expressed its unease "over the intrusion of Israeli entrepreneurs and paramilitary advisers into its sphere of influence in the black homelands." The Israeli government then denied landing rights in Israel to Ciskei - even though Israeli entrepreneurs had convinced Ciskei's rulers to build an airstrip.

Ciskei is not the only bantustan in which Israel and Israelis played a role. In 1985, the president of the Development Bank of Southern Africa - former South African finance minister Owen Horwood - visited Israel and told reporters that he had come "to evalua-

te Israel's role in facilitating the economic development of the southern African independent sates (i.e. bantustans)."

Israel has invested \$45 million in Bophuthatswana agriculture, and is training youth in that tribal reserve after the model of its own "nahal" (a program combining military training with agricultural development). Israel has also developed a television service for Bophuthatswana. An Israeli, Ilan Sharon, served as a "special adviser" for the bantustan authorities. Israeli architects have signed contracts for major public edifices.

An Israeli company has also moved into Bophuthatswana to manufacture sports shoes. When Bophuthatswana opened a Tel Aviv office, Israeli officials were embarrassed.

Israeli security mercenaries also guard the casino tables at Sun City, the "interracial" gambling resort attached to the pseudo-state of Bophuthatswana.

In early 1983 the entire "chamber of commerce" of another bantustan, Venda, visited Israel.

The Israeli government is pulled two ways over the bantustans. On the one hand, there is a powerful "lobby" comprised of former officials and their associates who have investments in the pseudo-states. To this must be added the obvious sympathy most Israeli officials must feel for the South African dilemma: no government in the world recognizes the benighted bantustans as the independent countries the racist regime has declared them to be. Israel has the same dilemma, in that not one government (including the U.S.) recognizes its claim to the occupied West Bank, to which it has given the spurious name Judea and Samaria, or, for that matter, (with the exception of Costa Rica and El Salvador) to East Jerusalem, which Israel captured from Jordan in 1976 and annexed as its capital in 1980.

In 1984 during ceremonies held in the Israeli-occupied West Bank town of Ariel, twinning that settlement with Ciskei's "capital" Bisho, Ciskei's Israeli representative Yosef Schneider said, "It is symbolic that no country in the world (except South Africa) recognizes Ciskei, just as there is no country in the world that recognizes the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria."

On the other hand, the Israelis are well aware that recognition of the bantustans would be an unbearable offense to the many African nations, which they have courted assiduously during the 1980s. They tread a fine line.

In its decisions in August 1985 to establish close working ties with Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu

bantustan, a patchwork of settlements in Natal, Israel seems to have ignored his status as the leader of the entity designated by Pretoria as the "tribal homeland" of the Zulu people. In the West this is also frequently overlooked.

When such heads of state as Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher receive the urbane, wealthy and ambitious Buthelezi - he is a frequent visitor to the West, where he argues against the imposition of sanctions and badmouths the mainstream liberation organizations - they present him as a "moderate" black leader, opposed to the "violent" methods of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Chief Buthelezi speaks eloquently and sincerely against apartheid. According to a longtime friend of the descendant of Zulu royalty, Buthelezi (along with many of his Western promoters) sees himself as leader of a post-apartheid government. Presumably to further this goal, Buthelezi has developed ties across the entire spectrum of white South Africa. He has close links with the white opposition Progressive Federal Party, with which he tried in 1986 to design a multiracial government for Natal Province. Their plan called for a complex system of racial checks and balances, with overweighted guarantees for the white minority - Buthelezi has always promised to give whites a veto, as opposed to the ANC demand for universal suffrage - but the Pretoria government rejected it out of hand.

Although his disagreements with the Botha government have been widely heralded - Buthelezi has refused "independent" status for his bantustan and has refused to participate in "negotiations" over South Africa's future with the Botha regime - he has certainly been the witting instrument of the minority government, both during his trips abroad and during the turmoil of the past several years.

In 1981, the Economist noted that

Shrewd white strategists know that, sooner rather than later, the Afrikaner government will have to negotiate with the only coherent tribe larger than its own, the 5 million-strong Zulu..The tolerance of the political activities of Chief Buthelezi has deepened into private contracts between his Inkatha movement and the secret Afrikaner Broederbond.

The Broederbond has been the acknowledged manipulator of the ruling Nationalist Party. Inkatha is Buthelezi's political vehicle

and means of patronage distribution. As polls taken over the years have shown, Buthelezi's following is trifling, even in Natal province, compared to that of the ANC, the United Democratic Front (UDF), or Nelson Mandela. Membership in Inkatha, which Buthelezi claims has one million members, is supposedly voluntary, but "strongly recommended for those living in Zululand."

In 1983, the year the UDF was created, the murder of five University of Zululand students was traced to supporters of Buthelezi, in marked contrast to his "nonviolent" label. Inkatha thugs, organized in bands called *impis* have frequently been reported to have attacked and often killed UDF protesters against the white government.

Visiting South Africa in June 1986, Denis Healey, the British Labor Party's spokesman on foreign affairs, refused to meet with Buthelezi. Instead Healey cited sworn affidavits from vigilante attack victims in the Durban area and showed newsmen a photograph of a member of the Zulu royal family (to which Buthelezi is related) leading *impi* vigilantes. Later that month, with the nation under a lock-down that forbade any gathering, Pretoria allowed Buthelezi to hold a rally in Soweto, the black township outside Johannesburg. Thousands of Buthelezi's followers, some armed with traditional Zulu weapons, were bused in from Natal for the event.

In December 1986, Inkatha members were blamed for abduction and then shooting to death a shop steward of the Metal and Allied Workers along with another union member and the daughter of a third.

During the period in which these incidents took place, no Israeli leader moved to dissociate the Tel Aviv government from the close ties it had established with Buthelezi in 1985. Indeed, Buthelezi's official visit to Israel began the day before a mob of armed *impis*, under the complacent eyes of government police, began an attack on their opponents in KwaMashu township in Natal. In the week of strife that followed, 66 blacks died, of which the police admitted to having shot 36. The others, "stabbed and mutilated," were assumed to be victims of Inkatha.

That was in August 1985. Israel was at the time casting about for a way to deflect mounting criticism of its ties with South Africa. The criticism came from liberal Israelis who worried that Tel Aviv's South Africa policy was becoming noticeably out of line with other Western states, and, more quietly, from the U.S., where South Africa's links with Israel were increasingly discussed on campuses within anti-apartheid organizations, causing dismay on the li-

beral wing of organized Jewry. A poll of the Congressional Black Caucus underway at the time was revealing that those members of Congress and their constituents believed that Israel was a major backer of South Africa. On August 5 Prime Minister Shimon Peres had been queried by Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-MI) and assured him that Israel was against apartheid. In a separate meeting Yitzhak Shamir, then foreign minister, also assured Wolpe of Israel's "objections" to apartheid.

It was never clear exactly who took the initiative for the Buthelezi visit - the South African embassy made phone calls to the Israeli media; asking them to go easy on the chief minister, and the Jerusalem Post responded with particular alacrity, in one case crediting him for preventing a revolutionary explosion in South Africa and asserting that "the wrong South African (then Bishop Desmond Tutu) won the Nobel Prize for peace" - but for the Israeli government, his arrival was a godsend, even though he perpetuated his critical motif, calling for enforcement of the UN arms embargo against the white government.

A wide range of the Israeli leadership held official meetings with the Zulu chief: Prime Minister Peres and Foreign Minister Shamir; former Labor Foreign Minister Abba Eban hosted a luncheon in his honor; Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche Israel's most persistent critic of links with South Africa, agreed to help him. The Israeli government and the Histadrut labor federation eagerly responded to Buthelezi's requests for assistance for KwaZulu, regarding the connection as "a new door into African development." Israel offered agricultural aid and a range of training including "leadership and trade union training in Israel, and assistance for women's organizations and cooperatives." Buthelezi said he had been assured that Israeli specialists would soon visit his bantustan. Yehuda Paz, director of Histadrut's Afro-Asian Institute, made plans with Buthelezi for the establishment of links between Histadrut and labor unions affiliated with Inkatha.

The connection was somewhat odd, even for a labor apparatus like Histadrut, whose companies are active in South Africa, and whose unequal treatment of Arab workers is legendary. Buthelezi made no bones about running his bantustan for the convenience of those who invest there. Although there is a KwaZulu labor bureau and a labor relations act, the average wage in 1985 was 100 rands a month (at the time less than \$100), and workers who complain to the bureau find themselves blacklisted. In March 1986 the KwaZulu

"government" announced that the "United Union of Workers of South Africa," widely perceived as a challenge to the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions, or COSATU, would be launched that May.

Israel presented its new relationship with Buthelezi as a look toward the future and a connection with South Africa's black majority. "Buthelezi's visit will give a boost to Israelis who would like to criticize apartheid without breaking off political and diplomatic relations with Pretoria," announced the Israeli government radio. Buthelezi, explained the state radio, "is more than a puppet. While he accepted the chief ministership of the KwaZulu homeland, he refused to have it declared independent like Ciskei or Bophuthatswana." Few critical observers find the distinction a meaningful one.

### *A Weapon Against the ANC*

Nonetheless, Israel's newly forged links with Buthelezi provided its supporters in the U.S. with fresh ammunition to use against critics of Israel's relations with South Africa. Near East Report, the weekly publication of AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee), celebrated Buthelezi's visit as "the first by a leading South African opposition leader, "and quoted Buthelezi's parting words: he was "encouraged and inspired by the complete abhorrence which...the Israeli people have for apartheid, and the commitment of the Israeli people to its destruction." For AIPAC, which often sets the pace for other U.S. Jewish organizations, the quote was welcome relief from the old chestnut from Andrew Young, which has been used unremittingly for years:

It is unfair to link Israel to South Africa. If there is a link, you must compare Britain, Germany, Japan, and the United States. All of them have links with South Africa. Israel becomes a too easy scapegoat for other problems we have."

Unlike Young, who left the Carter Administration (only several weeks before Israel and South Africa detonated a nuclear weapon) with the Israeli government in hot pursuit after he had met with the PLO's representative to the United Nations, Buthelezi continued to provide valuable copy. "Israel is indeed a land of miracles," he told a Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) reporter, who tagged the KwaZulu leader as a possible first black president of South Africa.

The interview Buthelezi gave JTA served to justify Israel's lin-

kage with South Africa, and, as it consisted mostly of a hot diatribe against his sworn rival, the ANC, it delivered the message of the white government in Pretoria to the U.S. Jewish community on the respectable pages of such publications as the Washington DC Jewish Week.

"I would say that Libya's Col. Muammar Qaddafi is today part of the ANC," offered the Zulu chief, a propos of nothing in particular.

"The ANC describes itself as anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic, like many African groups. But anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism are one and the same thing, I have always found," propounded Buthelezi. In a lengthy aside, interviewer Levine informs his American readers that

Buthelezi's friendship for Israel is music to the ears of many South African Jewish leaders, who have grown increasingly concerned over the prospects of an ultimate ANC victory and the establishment of a pro-Soviet regime.

The Washington Jewish Week published the Buthelezi interview as part of a front page spread which delivered a clear message - straight from Israel: "Israeli officials are reluctant to criticize the ANC publicly for fear of appearing pro-apartheid. Privately, however, they freely share their growing concern over the prospect of an ANC takeover." The spread containing the Buthelezi interview appeared at the same time a wider effort was set in motion by the right wing of organized Jewry to defame the ANC.

In May 1986 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) had circulated its newsletter to members of Congress with a front page headline promising "A Closer Look" at the ANC. The piece was written in oldtime McCarthyist style, as if for an audience not aware that most industrial democracies have communist parties which contest and win elections.

Although the ADL built its reputation on original research on racist hate groups, the article it sent to Congress was simply a collection of clippings on the ANC and "evidence" from testimony given at 1982 hearings conducted by far-right Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-AL), arranged to "prove" that "the ANC is oriented toward the Soviet Union and its East Block allies, who have furnished it with arms, funding, military training and other logistic support."

The ADL did not trouble to set forth the context of what it decried

as the 30-year alliance between the ANC and the South African Communist Party, for years the only multiracial anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa. Besides, the article was in error about the length of the association. "It's been 65 years, not 30," noted Lifford Cengue, a West Coast representative of the ANC, explaining that the alliance between the two organisations goes back to 1921, the year the SACP was founded, and has been public knowledge since that time. Cengue pointed out that the ANC was founded in 1912, "before the October Revolution."

The ADL article also delved into the ties between the ANC and the PLO, an organization with few defenders in Congress.

As a revolutionary national liberation movement oriented towards Moscow, the ANC has long echoed Soviet attempts to undermine the legitimacy of Israel. Moreover, the ANC is a strident supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It noted that some ANC members "trained in the USSR with PLO cadres" and refers to statements critical of Israeli policy made during the 1970s by Oliver Tambo. As have many governments and international organizations, the ANC has long been critical of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians under occupation; its criticism has been informed by Israel's close ties with South Africa. The ADL's assault on the ANC came at a time when Congress members of both parties were calling for the release of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and the State Department was moving toward contacts with the ANC.

The ADL article had great value for friends of South Africa, as well as apologists for Israel's ties to the apartheid regime. As Smith Hempstone commented approvingly in the Washington Times, which is generally acknowledged to support the white minority government:

None of this (the ADL's "findings") is particularly original stuff. The same points have been made many times by this columnist. But when B'nai B'rith gets into the game, congressmen who know on which side their political bagels are buttered are likely to sit up and take notice.

In the same issue of Washington's Jewish Week that carried the interview with Buthelezi was a second piece of propaganda authored by Charles Levine, this one titled to play on a prevalent



theme of the times: "Arab Terrorists Aid South African Groups." And it was a far more sophisticated job than the ADL's smear job, admitting, for instance, that Sweden contributed more to the ANC than the Soviet Union. Along with some of the same data employed by the ADL, Levine concocted his piece on the seemingly authoritative statements of unnamed "Israeli and South African intelligence sources." (Perhaps they were the source for a rather singular item included by Levine about black South African Muslims forming Libyan "hit teams.")

Levine wrote of instances when he says the PLO gave military training to the ANC - the one about the training of parachutists is particularly interesting given that the USSR has not provided the ANC with the kind of aeronautical assistance Israel has given South Africa - and confided that "Israeli experts on international terrorism" have concluded that the ANC's tactics are similar to those of the PLO

These journalistic efforts were made just as anti-apartheid activists were intensifying their lobbying of Congress for sanctions against South Africa.

Soon after Buthelezi's departure, Israel would host another group of South African blacks - and again use the opportunity to demonstrate its "anti-apartheid" credentials, without, of course, jarring its vital links to white Pretoria.

*The contribution to the seminar by Jane Hunter was based on a manuscript she had submitted for a book later published by South End Press, Boston, Massachusetts with the title "Israeli Foreign Policy; South Africa and Central America". We are grateful to South End Press for letting us reprint two chapters from this book. Both chapters are thoroughly footnoted in the book - we refer interested readers to the book for the detailed sources.*

# Israel and South Africa

## The ideological common ground

*Israel Shahak*

In this presentation I am going to limit myself in two ways in order to build a more convincing proof for my thesis that the Israeli regime, especially in the Occupied Territories, but to some extent also in Israel itself, is similar to the Apartheid regime of South Africa in its basic features. First I am going to ignore in this presentation the many horrifying features of the Israeli oppression in the Occupied Territories, for example, the torture, the daily brutalities and humiliations and many other oppressions, which are common to many other colonial or tyrannical regimes, and deal only with those which make the Israeli regime together with the South African, *completely unique* among all other regimes of the whole world. Secondly, in order to make my case completely "reliable", as journalists say, I am going to use in my argumentation only Israeli descriptions of the situation, either official ones or from the Hebrew press. I am not doing this willingly, but since I am aware of the strength of anti-Arab and specially of anti-Palestinian racism in the Western countries, which in many cases is much greater than is the corresponding racism in the Israeli-Jewish society (which is, surely, big enough!) and since I know by bitter experience the power and the fanaticism of the so called "friends of Israel" (who are really the greatest enemies of Israeli Jews, just as the friends of South Africa are really the enemies of the South African whites) and since I want to put my thesis in the strongest way possible at this moment, I think I have no choice but to do it in this way. But before entering into the presentation itself, I would like to remind you that although I am going now to ignore torture and brutality so common in the Occupied Territories, because torture and brutality are also common in Pinochet's Chile, which is not an Apartheid regime, this does not mean that I ignore them or that you should do so.

The first and in my opinion the most important injustice done to Palestinians is the double injustice committed in regard to the land. First came the theft of the land, and then the continuous sys-

tem of discrimination, amounting to Apartheid, regulating the use of the land which was confiscated.

Although I was and am very active in research and compilation of facts regarding the robbery of Palestinian land (for example I compiled, many years ago, the first comprehensive list of the destroyed Palestinian villages and drew attention to the fact of their complete destruction which even included in most cases their religious centers and cemeteries) I want to call attention here to the Apartheid of the present and not to the robbery of the past, for reasons which I will explain further.

The first question to be considered is the extent of the land which has been confiscated or rather robbed. In the West Bank, according to the data of Meron Benvenisti based on the official Israeli figures, about 50% of the land of West Bank and 39.5% of the land of Gaza Strip have been confiscated and made "state land" of the State of Israel already by 1985. Since the process of robbery goes on all the time we may assume that the percentages are greater by now. But all governments confiscate land, justly or unjustly, and all governments own land. What makes the case of Israel and South Africa so unique is the discrimination *in the use of land*. All land owned by the State of Israel, also within the area of Israel, *is designed officially for the benefit of Jews only*.

Let us look at this fact from two aspects. Let us first compare this to the situation in Sweden and other countries, and then look at what this does to Palestinians. I am sure that much land in Sweden belongs to the Swedish government. This land is intended for the benefit of all Swedish citizens regardless of race, religion or other human qualities. For example, if such land is being leased or offered for sale or new housing is built on it, all Swedish citizens are legally entitled to benefit from it. To try to exclude the Swedish Jews from this basic right would constitute a clear act of anti-semitism and I am sure that almost all the Swedish public would oppose such a proposal. But, we should remember that this basic right is observed also by many other regimes, even if they are dictatorial, in all areas of the globe, east and west. In the Israeli Occupied Territories the situation is exactly reversed. The land which has been confiscated, by whatever legal subterfuge, is openly and officially devoted to the use of Jews only, for the sole reason that they are Jews. Again, accuracy in the use of terms and of description is important. The confiscated land is not officially designated for the use of Israeli citizens, for about 15% of Israeli citizens are Palestinians. It is devoted to the use of Jews, whether they

are citizens of Israel, or any other state.

Anti-semitism is one of the many forms of racism, and the racist policy practiced by the Israeli government with regard to the use of land, which it had unjustly confiscated, is also another form of racism, parallel to, and as wicked as, the worst form of anti-semitism. An even better comparison can be found with Apartheid with regard to the land in South Africa. What does the infamous system of South African Apartheid amount to in principle? It amounts to a declaration by the government that certain areas of land will be open only to a particular kind of human being, for their exclusive benefit, and closed to others (and by the way, immigration policy will be formulated accordingly).

The proportion of the land assigned to each group, also fits the South African parallel. As mentioned above more than half of the land of the West Bank is now Israeli state land, intended for exclusive Jewish benefit. The number of the Jewish settlers in the West Bank is between 40 and 60 thousand. The number of Palestinians is officially 850,000 and in reality many more, and this even without considering the enormous number of Palestinians who are kept in enforced exile from their homeland. So here we have more than half of a land being devoted to the exclusive benefit of a group of settlers whose maximal size is 8% of the native population! What is that if not Apartheid? Is there any other state in the whole world except Israel and South Africa which conducts openly and officially such a policy! There is not. Therefore, if you in Sweden want to consider the situation of a Palestinian, in the West Bank for example, you should imagine two things. Firstly you should know that every single Palestinian knows every moment of his waking life that he is legally excluded from benefiting in any way, for example by building a house, from more than half of his homeland because he is not a Jew, and not for any other reason. Secondly, try to think how you would behave if you would be told that half of your own homeland, Sweden, would be arbitrarily closed to you because you were born to the wrong sort of mother!

A very similar situation with regard to the use of land exists inside Israel as well. More than 90% of the land of Israel belongs to, or is administrated by, the Israeli Land Authority. This land is not administered for the benefits of Israeli citizens. It is administered exclusively for the benefit of Jews only, again whether Israeli or from any other country, to the total exclusion of all Palestinians and all non-Jews. It is also administered in conjunction with the so called Jewish National Fund, a branch of the World Zionist Or-

ganization, which many years ago invented this racist rule with regard to the use of land. The Jewish National Fund is recognized as a charity organisation in Sweden and donations to it are deductible from Income Tax, so that not only the friends of Israel in Sweden, but all Swedish people are helping the cause of the Israeli Apartheid.

But the Israeli organization which has achieved both the greatest fame and popularity and also practices the greatest degree of racist exclusion, is no doubt the kibbutz. In this regard there is a very characteristic gap between the mainstream of Israeli-Jewish opinion and almost the whole western public; the majority of Israelis have been aware of the racist character of the kibbutz as displayed not only against Palestinians, but against all human beings who are not Jews, for quite a long time.

Incidentally, this came out first because the largest kibbutz movement, called the United Kibbutz Movement, is even more anti-Christian than it is anti-Arab. Since non-Jews cannot become kibbutz members because of its official exclusive character, the kibbutzism now employ many temporary workers under the misleading name of "volunteers". Naturally, romantic love blooms between young men and women under these conditions, in spite of all official discouragement. The Christian partners had to be forced to convert to Judaism, since without such conversion they would not become members of a kibbutz. A special school for such conversions was set up in kibbutz Sa'ad. The Hebrew press reported some years ago that the Christian candidates for kibbutz membership through conversion have to promise in the future to spit when passing before a church or a cross. I don't know whether this interesting story has been reported in Sweden, but this belongs to another subject.

To illustrate the basically similar policies inside Israel let me quote somewhat extensively from the proceedings of the official "committee for the evaluation of land policies" as published by the monthly *Monitin* in March 1983. The committee was chaired by Dr. Amnon Goldenberg, then the chairman of the Israeli Bar Association and the close friend and helper of Ariel Sharon. The official task of the committee was to examine the aims of Israeli land policy, of allocation land for housing and recommending laws governing the work of the Israel Land Authority. The members of the committee were all Jews, as is usual.

First came some official definitions and aims. Meir Shamir, Director of the Israeli Land Authority stated; "We have a defini-

tion and the aim is that any Jew in the world can become an Israeli citizen". But the definition for the Arab citizen is quite different and he declares, "Our assumption is that, at least at present, a mixed town in which Jews and Arabs live is not the way to live". The present Israeli minister of agriculture, Ariele Nahamkin, responds to this, "It should not be encouraged". The reason, as "explained" by another "expert", Gur Ariele, then the Advisor to the Minister on Arab Affairs, is that "if you let Arabs into Jewish towns which have difficulties, you prevent the Jews in those towns from dominating the employment possibilities". Meir Shamir declared further: "We have been operating according to a government consensus on this issue, all the time. I am not authorized to tell you whether there is any such government decision written down anywhere. But I can tell you from present knowledge that in any case these are the guidelines we have received not to encourage mixed areas of housing".

The chairman stopped the question of the committee members at this point so it could not be established who issued the official guidelines. But I want to make an important point which emerged from the discussion, namely that most of the vicious proposals which are aimed at tightening even more the official Apartheid system came from a sector of the Israeli Labor Party notorious for its racist attitudes. For example, the mayor of Upper Nazareth, Menachem Ari'av, proposed that the same apartheid rules governing state land should also be applied to private property. He proposed that a law be passed to empower the Israeli Land Authority to exercise first option in all sales of real estate, houses, flats or land. Then if a Jew attempted to sell his house to an Arab, or to an American citizen who is not a Jew, such a sale could be legally prevented and the owner compelled to sell to the Israeli Land Authority. As his precedent for such a proposal Ari'av gave actually the rules of kibbutz membership mentioned above.

The two conclusions from my short description of the official Apartheid in the Occupied Territories and in Israel are as follows. First, a regime of Apartheid does exist and its existence can be proven by citing examples that the average person can understand from daily experience. For this very necessary proof, officially supported bans against selling a few flats now are more important here as an example of Israeli practices than all the villages destroyed years ago. The second conclusion which I draw is equally important. I used a quote, and did so on purpose, showing a friend of Ariel Sharon, Dr. Amnon Goldenberg, to be more opposed to cer-

tain glaring aspects of Apartheid than many quite typical representatives of the Israeli Labor Party, such as the mayor of Upper Nazareth. Many more examples of similar attitudes could be given. After all, the main framework of the system of discrimination was erected during the long years of rule by the Labor Party.

I do not emphasize this in order to indulge in generalizations or slogans, but on the contrary in order to draw your attention to the complexity of the situation and to the necessity for paying attention to details. It is by knowing the immediate situation as it affects human beings that we can combat illusions. One of the most dangerous illusions is that one can blame everything either on Sharon or Begin or on Likud (the main right wing coalition) in general.

Exactly such details give us the power to weaken, and by persistence, to shake the illusion of the "well meaning" and "peace seeking" Israeli parties which are really the opposite of what they claim. The Apartheid regime in Israel and the Occupied Territories is supported by all the major Israeli parties, and in Israel this fact is widely known.

After the land the second most important factor for the Palestinians specially in the Occupied Territories is water. Here the situation is as follows. All the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are forbidden to draw from their own wells greater amounts of water than those which were drawn in 1967. They are even forbidden to buy new pumps for their wells except under strict control of the ruling governments, the "civil" and the military one. The Jewish settlers receive from the Israeli company "Mekorot" water almost without any limitation, and in addition can pump water from modern drills equipped with newest pumps, which in several cases managed to exhaust the water which is still "permitted" for the Palestinians to use. As is well known, the agriculture in the Middle East is dependent first of all on irrigation. By this racist discrimination, almost all modern agricultural development by Palestinians is stopped while that of the Jewish settlers is encouraged. While many colonies of settler states have tried to discriminate in the use of water and in agricultural development in more limited ways, I believe that such total and cruel limitation enforced now for 20 years in such a blatantly racist way is wholly without precedent, except of course in South Africa. I should add that the major Zionist socialist parties not only fully accept this water Apartheid policy, but are indeed very proud of the fact that they resist the demands of the settlers who want to take away even the water which the Palestinian peasants had in 1967.

From water let us pass to the general question of development in all areas of the economy. The military (and the "civil") governments forbid in the territories opening any new factory which will make products for sale for the inhabitants of the territories themselves. The absolute condition which the military government puts is that all (or almost all) the produce of the intended factory will be exported to the countries to which Israel itself does not export similar products. For example, the military government refused to give a permit for a cement factory (which was proposed as one of the steps in the framework of the hypocritical American policy of "Improving the Quality of Life " there) except if the factory undertook to export all the cement it produced to Jordan or to other Arab states. This means that the Palestinians are forbidden to produce themselves the cement they need for the building of their own houses.

All Israeli exports to the conquered territories are not only allowed but actually encouraged. At the same time all imports from the conquered territories to Israel are prohibited, except by a special permit which is only rarely, if ever, given (I could find no examples in the last few years). For example, one of the tasks of the strict, and frequently cruel, control on the entrances and exits in the barbed wire which surrounds the Gaza Strip is to prevent "smuggling" of vegetables and fruit produced in Gaza Strip into Israel. This control is active even now. It is also active all the time in a very racist manner also on a personal level. As Israeli Jew is permitted to travel to Gaza, to buy there cheap tomatoes for his personal use, and to bring them home, without having to undergo a personal search. However a Palestinian is forbidden to take out vegetables from Gaza Strip and when they are searched as they (contrary to Jews) frequently are, the vegetables are confiscated and they are put on trial for this crime.

According to the same racist principle, Israel forbids export from the conquered territories of any product which is also produced in Israel, and which in the state to which it may be exported competes with Israeli exports. The best example, although I can mention others, concerns oranges of Gaza Strip. It is forbidden to export them to Europe, their natural market, and their export is only permitted to Arab Countries.

I will add to this one recent example because it affects a neighbouring country, Norway, and maybe Sweden itself. I will quote here verbatim the passage from the Israeli Press (*Ha'aretz*, our best paper, of December 30 1986).



"The Israeli Administration in Gaza refused to permit Gaza farmers to export their vegetables to Norwegian merchant."

The Israeli Administration in Gaza has refused to allow the farmers to export vegetables to Norway. Following the decision of the Common Market Administration of October 23 concerning some better conditions which will be created for the inhabitants of the conquered territories in the area of agricultural exports without the quotas or the customs which are applicable to Israeli agricultural exports, a Gazan cooperative for vegetable growing decided to sell a trial amount of 50 tons of tomatoes to a Norwegian importer. The importer "Pan Proket" reached an agreement with the Gazan cooperative and applied to the Military Government for the permit to carry out the deal. The representative of the Military Government denied the request, giving as the reason that only the (Israeli) company "Agresco" is entitled to deal with all affairs connected with the export of agricultural produce. The affair became known to the Israeli correspondent of the Norwegian paper "Aftenposten". He turned to the Ministry of Agriculture, where the answer he got was "No comment". Also in the Copenhagen office of "Agresco" which is responsible for the export of the Israeli agricultural produce to Norway the answer was, "No comment".

I am emphasizing this because this is something that all opponents of Apartheid, all people of good will in Sweden can do something about with some chances of quick success, now, and in the process of the struggle you can educate the Swedish public as to the reality of Israeli Apartheid, as it is being helped, although to a small extent, by them. You can and you should insist by all possible means of public struggle in a democratic country that the agricultural Apartheid should cease at once, that at least Palestinian tomatoes or oranges or other produce should have exactly the same rights to be exported to Sweden as the Israeli ones. Until this very minimal condition is granted you should do all you can to alert the Swedish public to the situation.

From this let me pass to two further aspects of the Apartheid situation which show the legally inferior position of Palestinians in comparison to Jews, and incidentally, will illustrate the prevailing ignorance in the Western public about the true situation of the Palestinians in their everyday life. The first is the great "crime" which a Palestinian of the Occupied Territories commits, if he sleeps, let us say in a hotel on a friend's house, in a bed, at night between 1 am and 5 am. I repeat, for a Palestinian from the territo-

ries to be within those hours inside Israel is a crime carrying a punishment of imprisonment or fine. But a Jewish settler from the territories can, of course, visit Tel Aviv or any other place in Israel during the night without committing a crime. This is as similar to the South African regulations and as different from the laws of other countries, however bad, that by itself it should be enough to establish equivalence between Israeli and South African regimes. Even the subterfuges employed, for economic reasons, to lessen the impact that the rigid applications of this law could have, are similar. In Israel, it has been many times remarked, even by Police authorities, that the labour of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories is now so essential to the Israeli society that it would not be able to function without it. Therefore it was officially announced that if those Palestinians from the Occupied Territories who will break the law by sleeping in beds within the State of Israel borders, will do so while the doors of the room in which they sleep are locked from outside, they will not be prosecuted. In spite of many incidents, such as one in which some law abiding Palestinians were burnt to death because they could not get out of their room when a fire broke out, this regulation and this cruel Nazi-like law is still fully enforced, both by the police and by a body of civilian volunteers called "Civil Guard" in which many teenagers serve.

The second aspect of the situation can be described as a system of judiciary Apartheid existing in the Occupied Territories, now for twenty years. The so called legal system in the Occupied Territories is as follows. The Military Governors, who are nominated by the Chief of the General Staff of the Israeli Army are together with the Chief of Staff, the sole authority, legislative, executive and judiciary. Their "regulations", issued without any process of consultation, have the force of law. The Chief of Staff nominates all the members of the military courts at his own pleasure and can dismiss them without explanation. The Military Governors also nominate, on the same terms, the members of the (Palestinian) Civil Courts. Although the two, parallel judiciary systems are both completely controlled by the Israeli Army, there is the following absolute functionary separation between them. The Civil Courts are not allowed to judge in any case involving either Jewish settlers, who are, of course, as the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, living in the area of the legal competence of those courts, or other Israeli citizens. This rule is comprehensive and applies not only to all political offences and crimes involving violence, but to cases involving land and other matters. The settlers are not

tried, in most cases even those involving violence or terror on their part, by the Israeli military courts which try Palestinians accused of the same kind of offenses. They are tried before the Israeli Civil Courts, that is courts which do not try other (Palestinian) inhabitants of the Occupied Territories. The difference, which results as a matter of course, is very much heavier sentences imposed on Palestinians than on Jews convicted of the same offense, is therefore a form of legal Apartheid. The judiciary system established and fully controlled by the Israeli Army in the Occupied Territories does not operate on a territorial principle of competence, as is usual in almost all systems of law, but on an Apartheid principle.

The "ordinary" police force in the Occupied Territories (as distinguished from Borderguards and the Israeli Army which also undertake police duties) is composed mainly of Palestinian policemen commanded by Israeli officers. The Palestinian policemen have no power of arrest or detention (or any other power) over the Jewish settlers or other Israeli citizens, even in case of traffic offences. The only thing which they can "do", if one of them observes a Jewish settler violating traffic regulations, is to request him, politely, to wait for a Jewish police or army officer in order to question him. If the settler refuses nothing can be done, and this situation has been frequently observed and reported in the Hebrew press. In the same way, and for the same reason, invitations or orders issued by the Civil (Palestinian) Courts to the settlers to appear before it, if charged by Palestinians in some civil case, are not and cannot be enforced. This existence of one "native" police force with power only on "Natives" is a daily reminder of Apartheid situation.

The legal system which judges Palestinians accused of political offenses and of crimes of violence is, as was said above, the system of Israeli Military Courts. To this system also any other legal case can be transferred, without reason given, and this is quite often done. Those Military Courts are a branch of the usual Israeli system of Military Jurisdiction, which inside Israel is being employed to judge Israeli soldiers. For those cases there exists a Military Court of Appeal to which appeals from sentences of the lower courts can be directed. However, the competence of this court does not include the Military Courts operating in Occupied Territories, and in those areas there is no appeal to any judiciary authority, even a military one, from a sentence passed by a Military Court, which always acts as a court of the initial and final instance, to-

gether. In addition to the obvious injustice involved in this, especially since the Military Courts pass, against Palestinians, very heavy sentences and demand much less strict evidence to impose them than Civil Courts, this is another example of the legal Apartheid. The Jewish settlers enjoy the full benefits of appeal though not Palestinians. It should be added that such a minimum legal safeguard as a Military Court of Appeal has not been established after 19 years of conquest, and by now the intention seems clear to leave the discrimination as it is for an indefinite time.

Those facts, and many others could be mentioned, show conclusively that there exists a situation of discriminative separation between people living in the same territory (and under the same authority) which can and should be called a legal Apartheid system.

Let us now pass into another aspect of the Israeli Apartheid system as applied in the Occupied Territories with regard to denial of the principle of the right of unification of Palestinian families. In order, however, to understand this some explanation of the Israeli non-recognition of Palestinians, even in case of individuals, in their own homeland must be given first. The Israeli authorities refuse to mention the word "Palestinian" in any official document. The Palestinians living in foreign countries (either Arab countries or any other country) are invariably described as, for example, Kuwaitis, Syrians, French or Americans. The Palestinians of the West Bank are described either as Jordanian or sometimes following colonial models as "Natives", in contempt. The Palestinians of the Gaza Strip are described as "Gazans", since they actually are stateless and have no citizenship of any state. This allows the Israeli authorities to refer to Palestinians who live outside Palestine as "foreigners". So a "security source" was quoted in the *Jerusalem Post* (January 14, 1987) about the Palestinian women who married Palestinians of the Gaza Strip as being concerned about "the influx of huge number of *foreigners* into the area, specially women" (my emphasis). The source "added" that the territories, especially the crowded Gaza Strip could not support such numbers of people. This "concern" does not prevent, of course, the settling of Jewish settlers in the same "crowded" Gaza Strip and confiscation for their exclusive benefit of a great proportion of the resources of the area.

More important is the glaring difference between the legal use of the term "Jew" by the Israeli authorities and the denial of the term "Palestinian" with the consequent inhuman description of Palestinians as "foreigners" in their own homeland. A Jew, in-

cluding a convert to Judaism from the moment of his conversion, is not treated as "a foreigner", so far as his rights to settle in Palestine are concerned, by the Israeli authorities. He is always called by this term whether he is a Soviet, American or French citizen. This constitutes by itself a discrimination amounting to a policy of Apartheid, applied now for nearly twenty years to all areas of Palestine. I note with sorrow that so many western activists of human rights accept, whether actively or in silence, this invidious discrimination. While defending, for example, the right of every Soviet Jew to come and settle in the West Bank and to oppress the Palestinians in the most brutal ways, they do not say a word about the right of Palestinians even to be recognized as such! This continuing hypocrisy so prevalent in the Western countries brings the whole concept of human rights into contempt.

Immediately after the conquest of the territories in 1967, they were declared by a military order (the main source of the law) as "closed territories" and all passage of people in and out was prohibited except by a special permit. This permit, if granted, is completely arbitrary. There is no need to give any reasons, neither it is under any supervision by any courts, even military courts. The situation continues. In September 1967 a census was held in the Occupied Territories. All the inhabitants above the age of 16 received identification cards. Children below this age were inscribed in the identification cards of their parents. This census is, until this day, according to the Israeli authorities, the sole legal basis for the right of the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories (who are not Jews) to live there, except for special permits which are given by way of mercy, usually after accommodation with the Secret Police.

It follows that a Palestinian, who because of any reason was not on the day of the census "in place", inside the Occupied Territories, is not entitled according to the Israeli authorities to live there. All other reasons, such as he was born there, that his ancestors for many generations were also born there, that his family lives there, are not accepted by law, and he is designed legally as a "stranger" or a "foreigner". If he is given a special permit to reside there, then this permit will be issued carefully, in order not to create a precedent, only as an arbitrary act of the Israeli authorities. At the same time the same authorities proclaim, as previously stated, that every Jew has the "right", simply because he is a Jew or a convert to Judaism, to settle in the same area from which a Palestinian is excluded as a "foreigner"! Basing themselves on the

same inhuman immoral principles which they have elevated to the dignity of a law, the Israeli authorities also deny the validity of the natural right of reunification of families in their homeland in case of the Palestinians, while employing it in the case of Jews, specially of Soviet Jews. They frequently, even, advise the Palestinians with torn families to be reunified outside of Palestine.

I want to emphasize that almost the same Apartheid situation exists in the so called "Unified Jerusalem" although East Jerusalem has been annexed and it is legally a part of the State of Israel.

The legal situation, as stated by the laws of the State of Israel, is, that only Jews have a right to a permanent residence in Jerusalem as a natural right, independent of the arbitrary decision of the ruler. To these one may add the non-Jewish Israeli citizens only. But the State of Israel does not recognize the right of an Arab or other non-Jew to live in Jerusalem even if he was born there. Legally, "the right of residence" of non-Jews who are not Israeli citizens (and this is the status of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian Arabs in Jerusalem) is based on the population census made by the Israeli authorities after the occupation in 1967, or in a few cases of those who were allowed by a special act of charity to get a Jerusalem resident certificate. Jews and Israeli citizens need no such certificate. It must be pointed out that Israel does not recognize the right of unification of non-Jewish families who are residents of Jerusalem on legal or humanistic grounds, although this argument is used of course by Israel and its supporters, in cases of Jews in other countries who wish to come to Israel. A Palestinian resident of Jerusalem, whose son or daughter or father or mother was incidentally outside the Israeli Occupied Territories in 1967, and therefore was not registered in that population census, has no right to return, except rarely as a special act of mercy which opens the door for corruption and police pressures by the regular and secret police. These days the government accuses the Jerusalem District Officer Rafi Levy of accepting bribes to issue, contrary to the official regulations, Jerusalem resident certificates to Arabs who, according to the opinion of the Israeli authorities are "not entitled" to get them. It is reported that the price of one such certificate on the "market" is not less than 50,000 dollars. It is also reported that in many cases, even if the Israeli authorities allow a Jerusalemite Palestinian to return to his home land, they do not allow him to settle in Jerusalem proper, in order to keep what they call a "demographic balance" in the city (a racist term as such) and they force him to settle in Jericho, for instance.

A very similar Apartheid situation exists in the so called Unified Jerusalem with respect to property and housing. I will begin with a historical explanation. 70 - 80 years ago in Jerusalem, although the majority of its neighbourhoods were characterized by religious affiliations, Jerusalem was much more tolerant than today under Israeli rule so far as places of domicile are concerned. Thus, for instance, many of the buildings in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem were owned by Moslems, but some Jews lived also in the Moslem quarter and a few houses there belonged to them. Similarly, a great many houses and land in West Jerusalem really belong to Palestinian Arabs, and some houses and land in East Jerusalem to Jews. After 1948, and still more so after 1967, laws of national, religious and, as a matter of fact, also racial discrimination were passed with regard to this property. A non-Jew (except Christian churches, but not religious Moslem institutions) is not entitled to demand the return of his property if he lost it as a result of the war. On the other hand, Jewish property is considered "sacred", unless it is requisitioned by the Israel government itself, and Jews may demand the return of this property, and are encouraged by the authorities to do so, and with success, because the law is on their side.

There is also what is called "abandoned property". Just as the State of Israel does not recognize the right of a non-Jew to reside in Jerusalem "only" because he was born there, so it does not recognize his right to his property inside Jerusalem, if the war forced him to "stay" outside the borders of Israel and the Occupied Territories. Even in the case when a resident of Jerusalem who was registered in the population census of 1967 died, but his heirs do not reside within the boundaries of Jerusalem, the property is transferred into the hands of the Custodian of Abandoned Property for so called "needs of the public". However, the interpretation of this term is intentionally discriminating. Never have these "needs of the public" included needs of non-Jews who live in Jerusalem! In every case this property has been handed over for the needs of Jews only and in the Moslem quarter of the Old City especially for the needs of the Jewish settlers, including those who are known for their most aggressive and racist attitudes toward Arabs. The State of Israel has also introduced an official policy of racist discrimination with regard to domicile in the Old City. The renovated Jewish quarter after 1967, which is much larger than the Old Jewish quarter following requisitions and evacuations, was entirely excluded from official authorization of residence of non-

Jewish residents. When one of the Arab inhabitants who were evacuated from the Jewish quarter, by the name of Burqan, filed a complaint with the Supreme Court of Justice, the Court, presided over by Judge Hayim Cohen, decided that the State of Israel is entitled to evict him from his house, in order to establish a quarter for Jews only, and he added even arguments about the alleged desire of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to live separately. This racist regulation applies to all non-Jews, not only to Palestinians. Some times ago, when some family of Jewish residents of the Jewish quarter wanted to lease their apartment for a few months to a Swedish woman archeologist who came to Jerusalem for a year of studies, the authorities refused to approve this rental (according to the "Burqan precedent") and decided that only Jews are entitled to live in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, exactly according to the prototype of the ill famed South African Apartheid laws. (All inhabitants of the Jewish quarter have no right to sell or lease their apartment without permission of the Jewish Quarter Society). But while these Apartheid laws protect the "Jewish purity" of the Jewish Quarter, there is no parallel protection with regard to the Moslem Quarter or any other place in Jerusalem. On the contrary, Jewish settlement is encouraged by the authorities.

There are many other aspects of the situation of Apartheid which could be described, and should be described. In fact I am for many years very critical of the Palestine National Movement and of the Palestine Liberation Organization for neglecting the most important aspects of what should be their duty; for not describing accurately and in terms that other people could understand the Apartheid situation in which the Palestinians in Palestine have to live, in other words for not learning from the African National Congress and the other opponents of the South African Apartheid. Without a full and accurate knowledge of the daily life of people under Apartheid no truly popular and therefore successful struggle will be possible in reality. But since not everything can be covered in the short time available to us let me conclude by raising two additional aspects of the situation, which I consider to be very important.

First, we should remember that however bad the actual situation of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories is, there are important groups which want to make it much worse yet. It is usual to emphasize the role of the Jewish settlers in this respect and surely this is by itself quite correct, but one should never forget that the settlers and their main organization Gush Emunim, are only a part of a



wider movement of Jewish religious fanaticism which actually has strong historical roots in historical Judaism. It is not by accident that Kahane has not been opposed or condemned by a single orthodox rabbi in Israel (and by very few outside Israel) and most of his followers are religious Jews, although of course not all religious Jews support Kahane. It is nevertheless true and should be emphasized that not only the great majority of religious Jews in Israel support Apartheid but that many of them and particularly their rabbis want to go much beyond the present situation, horrible as it is. Much of the blame for this state of affairs should be put on the lack of outside pressure in this respect, because of lack of information and fear of name calling. Here the South African example can be very valuable. It is not so long ago that some South African Churches either supported Apartheid or refused to oppose it and, as many believe, outside pressure, even outside condemnation, played a great role in changing their positions.

As an example, one of many, I want to quote a rabbi who is an officer in the Israeli Army, Major Shlomo Derlich, who holds the post of the rabbi of settlements in the West Bank. Early in 1986 he sent to all Israeli soldiers a 1000 word pastoral letter, in which basing himself on Biblical verses and on their Talmudic interpretation, he urged them to apply to Israel's enemies today the Biblical injunction to annihilate the Amalekites, which included the mass murder of everybody including children and babies. As the *Jerusalem Post* noted (leading article July 17, 1986): Major Rabbi Shmuel Derlich was not ignorant of the fact that, in modern terms, what he was advocating was genocide. He merely thought arguing to that effect from the sources that genocide remained the right and proper treatment for the Amalekites, he left not the slightest doubt in any educated mind that the main object of his diatribe was the Arabs. Not least the Arabs in Judea and Samaria (as the *Jerusalem Post* puts it).

When the Israeli press, and following it the Chief Education Officer of the Israeli Army, discovered this Nazi abomination, there was a mini-scandal. But forty rabbis, military chaplains in the reserves, came out in support of genocide and of Rabbi Derlich and so did the Israeli Army Spokesman. Finally the judge Advocate General of the Army exonerated the Nazi-like Rabbi completely.

As I said previously, many other cases could be mentioned of Nazi-like incitement especially in connection with the affair of the murders by the Jewish Underground. Many rabbis explicitly

and formally justified, for example, the indiscriminate murder committed in the Islamic Technological College of Hebron, because, so they said officially, all its students are worthy of death. The Chief Rabbis of Israel which at present are calling the President to pardon the murders and for contributions for them, are careful not to call their acts "murder" or "killing" but use expressions like "they did what they did", equivocations completely equal in my opinion to the verbal disguises of the Nazis during the Holocaust. It is even more important to point out that even those rabbis who did not approve of genocide or of murder, take a racist position which is basically also Nazi-like. For example Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein, who supports the so called religious movements Oz Leshalom and Netivot Shalom, declares openly (*Ha'aretz* August 9, 1985, "Maimonides and everything" by Orit Shohat) "that Judaism has a double morality...there is a difference of quality between the human beings involved. They are not the same human beings. However you appreciate, admire and respect the soul of a Gentile it is not the same as a soul of a Jew". Therefore while advocating some sort of punishment for those Jews who killed Arabs, he is most insistent that this should be much lighter than the punishment of the Arab who killed Jews, and that the difference should be based not on circumstances of the case but on an Apartheid principle of the basic difference between Jews and non-Jews.

I must emphasize here again that in the context of the Jewish fanaticism present in Israel (and even more in English speaking countries) that Rabbi Lichtenstein is moderate because he admits that there are some souls of Gentiles which a Jew can admire or respect. A common opinion is given by the Emunim leader and a settler in the West Bank Rabbi Yohanan Freed who is now the Head of the Department for Religious Education in the Israeli Ministry of Education. According to him (*Ha'aretz, ibid*) "Judaism divides the world into (five parts) the inanimate, the vegetable, the animal, the human beings and the Jews". Others refer to the non-Jews not as human beings but as to "the speaking animals" or claim that the difference between Jews and non-Jews is greater than the difference between non-Jews and animals, or that all non-Jews have Satanic souls.

All those things, and I could quote many others, are very important in several ways. First of all the Occupied Territories are the centre of this Jewish Nazism, and those Nazis are well armed, and organized in their own reserve military units with commanders of

the same opinions. Their influence on the military government which rules the territories, directed of course in the Nazi direction, is considerable and so is their influence on Israeli political life. It is not by chance that they were the best friends of Ariel Sharon and supplied religious justifications for the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and all that was done then. Although they were half defeated in 1983, they remain very powerful. We should all consider seriously what may happen if those Nazis who consider the Jews to be basically different from non-Jews may rule Israel which is allied to South Africa and equipped with the nuclear potential which this alliance presumably has. The dangers for world may be incalculable. Not only the Palestinians and other peoples maybe, then, in great danger of extermination or expulsion but the danger will be then global, and one should be forewarned and know the tendencies beforehand.

Secondly, I have quoted to you right now some of the most horrible things which could be said about any human group. Most of them are said, or rather shouted, in the Occupied Territories, with the Israeli authorities doing absolutely nothing against the propagation of those Nazi-like opinions and one can say, even encouraging them. At the same time, the same authorities are conducting a most strict censorship against all kind of opinions even very mild ones when expressed by Palestinians, using as their usual excuse the claim of "Incitement". For example an Arabic map of Palestine without the borders of 1967 constitutes "an incitement" if hung on a wall of an office (although the official Hebrew maps of Israeli authorities also do not show those borders) and this crime is being punished by the Israeli Military courts. But a call for genocide of Arabs is not officially considered "an Incitement", if written in Hebrew and published by a rabbi! Do not misunderstand me as advocating censorship. I support an unlimited right of freedom of expression, also for Nazis of all kind. But such a system as exists in the Occupied Territories in which the most rigid censorship prohibits in the most arbitrary way the Palestinian expression of their wish of freedom and equality, while permitting and encouraging the expressions of Jewish-Nazism, is another aspect of the Apartheid regime.

Finally, I want to emphasize something which is most important for us, the Israeli-Jews who fight in different ways against the Apartheid regime in the Occupied Territories, and the Apartheid aspects of Israel itself, and also those who even though they do not fight all those horrors at least fight some of them, or at least do not

remain silent and fall into that sort of sickening flattery and hypocrisy into which so many persons in the Western world fall. All this which I told you, and much besides, is not only known but widely discussed inside Israel by the better Israeli press. As I indicated above, we, the Israeli-Jews have our own Nazis. But we have also our own anti-Nazis, who in different ways but openly and courageously proclaim that Jewish Nazism exists and try to fight it. As I have shown extensively in my presentation, we have created and are enforcing in the Occupied Territories a cruel and wicked regime of Apartheid, quite similar to the South African Apartheid regime. But we have, contrary to the so-called friends of Israel in Western countries, also developed a minority which became aware of what it is doing, and which in the last few years call the things by its proper names. The best papers and individuals in the Israeli social life, not of course in politics and not in the Zionist left, have been referring to Apartheid, our Apartheid, for several years by now. For example *Ha'aretz* of September 27, 1985 ("A person should not grow tomato...." by Orit Shohat) writes: "And if one could understand the discrimination of the Arabs, this is now becoming a dangerous infra-structure for an Apartheid policy towards over two million Arabs in Israel and the territories. The following Survey in intended to protest against the insensitivity that enables the leaders of Israel to condemn South Africa without stopping to see what is happening at home". And the author indeed proceeds to give a survey which is not so different on many points from my own presentation. To give only one example, when the author of the article asks Mr. Yitzhak Ben Nor in charge of the information of the Jewish National Fund about the so called "National land" in Israel and the Occupied Territories and the regulations which in an Apartheid manner exclude all non-Jews from those lands, he answers; "The regulations are still intact and valid, and according to them the ownership over national land is in the hands of the Jewish people forever. No one else may purchase those lands. Even leasing or temporary exploitation is for Jews only. I see no reason to cover-up those truths or to apologize", and he goes into details showing how this racist organization ensures that those "principles" will be kept.

You may ask, why the opponents of Apartheid in Israel have not had, at least in the last years, greater success. Of course there are many internal Israeli reasons; we have made mistakes and could do more than we did. There are also what I may call Middle Eastern reasons, having to do with the nature of most of the neighbour-

ing Arab regimes. But the most important reason for our relative lack of success is the peculiar character of the strength of the Israeli regime, which in the sources of its power is different from South Africa. The power of the South African government derives solely from the territory ruled or terrorized by the South African armed forces. A great part of the power of the Israeli government, especially its money, derives from outside Israel, comes from outside states. Even in the South Africa-Israel Axis (as it is called by the Hebrew press) it is South Africa which gives some money to Israel. Much more comes in form of financial support and trade concessions from the European Common Market, and other Western States, but of course most of it comes from the USA, to the extent of three billion dollars per year.

In addition there is the enormous moral support which those who call themselves "friends of Israel" in Western countries give to all Israeli policies. All this makes the work of the Israeli opponents of Apartheid much more difficult, and indirectly it also strengthens the South African Apartheid regime. Therefore in conclusion, I want to appeal to all of you who oppose this support. I used the expression "so called friends of Israel" to indicate my opinion, that, exactly as in the case of South Africa, where the true friends of the South African people, Black or White, are those who first of all oppose the South African Apartheid regime and help to wage a struggle against it, so in the case of Israel - the true friends of Israel, that is of Jews and of Palestinians living in it, are those who oppose the Israeli Apartheid regime in the Occupied Territories and also those aspects of the Apartheid existing in Israel itself. In both cases, the continuation of Apartheid, besides being an immoral act, bringing continual daily suffering to the people who are oppressed, will inevitably also bring an even greater calamity to all, and the only way to avert this calamity is simply to *Abolish Apartheid*. Another parallel can be found in the history of the Christian churches. Those who criticized those churches, for example for their behaviour toward the Jews, for anti-semitism found for long periods in much of their teachings, were not only friends of the Jews but even more friends of the Christians and more than anything friends of humanity. In the same way I call on all of you. If you will help, to the best of your abilities in the struggle against the South African and the Israeli regimes of Apartheid, you will in addition to the help to the oppressed, show yourself the best friend also of the oppressors, and in the case of Israel the best friend of the Jewish people.

# South Africa and Israel

## Political Comments on Their Collaboration

*Denis Goldberg*

My task is to try to draw together in a political interpretation the discussions led by people who have made year long studies of the relations between Israel and the racist regime in South Africa. Those facts have meaning in terms of the struggle for national liberation of the 22 million black African people, people called colored people and Indian people in South Africa, from a system of racial oppression. And ultimately they will put an end to that racism and build a new society.

In the course of the information we have been given today in this gathering, the justification for the links between Israel and South Africa have become very clear. The struggle of the people of South Africa for their freedom is not different in principle from the struggle of the Palestinian people for their freedom in the Middle East. The ANC has no hesitation in telling the PLO, the leaders of the Palestinian people in their struggle for freedom, that their struggle is our struggle and our struggle is their struggle. Quite simply, the system of exploitation is going to be put to an end and that system derives from a system of imperialist exploitation involving countries like the United States of America, Great Britain, West Germany, France and others. Israel in every such situation in recent times has been found consistently on the wrong side. It has been found on the side of the oppressors, those who deny freedom to others, whether it be in South Africa, the Middle East, Central America or South America. When dictatorial regimes, denying political rights and human rights, have been perhaps left a little isolated by the United States because of pressures of political processes within the United States, Israel has stepped in to fill the gap.

Every society has an ideology by which it seeks to explain and justify the way that society exists at the present time, and seeks to continue, reproduce itself. And so we have to ask, what is this racism, this apartheid in South Africa. It's not just the social, political and legal practice of discrimination. It is also an ideology. It

seeks to justify those practices and its legal system by some superior appeal to reason. Implicitly it says that whites are superior to blacks and blacks will always be inferior. It denies humanity to millions and millions of people. In fact, I have seen racism defined not as an ideology but as a crime, a crime against humanity. Now in South Africa that ideology is the official ideology of the ruling group. It is even written into the laws.

In Israel itself this racism might not be written into the laws but yet implicit within the social practices. The practices in the Occupied Territories express this racist concept. In my short visit to Israel I spoke to many Jewish Israelis who would tell me, one after the other, how Israel differed from South Africa. Quite simply, Israeli Palestinian Arabs had the right to vote and to sit in the Knesset. Black people in South Africa do not have the right to vote or sit in the Parliament. You see it is different. Then they would continue to talk about Israel as though it were a state in which only Jewish people lived. Palestinian people, citizens or not, were just not part of their awareness and consciousness. Somehow they are part and at the same time not part of that state. For me this is a racist attitude. I also came across the same kind of expressed hatred, and fear for the future, from Jewish Israelis, as I found among white South Africans.

I am trying to tell you that if we really want to explain the links between Israel and South Africa, we have to look for them in a worldwide system of exploitation, of imperialism, of which Israel is a part and we have to look at the ideas, the ideologies which flow from that. Sometimes they are made very explicit as in South Africa, sometimes they emerge from practice as in Israel.

Now, we can argue about the specific details as long as we like but the fact remains that these things take place. And what distresses me about some of the questions today from those who say that they condemn apartheid but hands-off for Israel, is that they end up not as academicians in good standing but as people who practice academicism in a sterile manner. We are told that we must not make historical analogies because the conditions then were different and the conditions now in the two countries are different. But that doesn't alter the facts, the oppression and exploitation, the denial of human rights. A really concerned student would want the answers to the problem now that we have established the problem, and how we can solve it.

Let me talk about the significance of the military links between Israel and racist South Africa. The strategy and tactics of the

ANC, having led a struggle for 75 years for freedom in South Africa, involves an armed struggle. The ANC by the way is 75 years old, the armed struggle is in its 26th year. Thus for 49 years a peaceful struggle until the people, led by the ANC, took up arms in 1961. And we find that we are not fighting simply the racist system in South Africa, we are fighting the whole world, the whole imperialist world. Thus we find that the racist system, when stretched to its limits, and seeking to maintain itself by military force, finds an ally in the state of Israel. It provides arms, military technology, technicians, training teams in South Africa, in Namibia and also trains South African military personnel in Israel as well. I am quite sure, also, that the exchanges of intelligence is equally as important. We know these links between Israel and South Africa existed. Those who questioned us should remember that the Israeli cabinet last week conceded that we were right all along. They said, "We are going to reduce the military links with racist South Africa". Thus they did exist, they denied them when we claimed they existed.

In the end the logic of the situation has to be taken into account. The imperialist system doesn't give up without a fight and our people are going to destroy that system no matter who provides that assistance. What we are saying to people who understand the reality of the exploitation and who understand the reality of the support given to that racist regime in South Africa is, "stop your sterile arguments, do something, don't make excuses, our people are dying". You have to choose, as many Swedish people have chosen, as some Israelis have chosen, as many in the United States, Britain, Canada, and elsewhere, have chosen. That is, to actively oppose their governments support of the racist regime. Stop arguing, friends, do it!

Let us talk about the economic assistance given by Israel to racist South Africa. Just to abbreviate what Jane Hunter said, that assistance takes many forms, the supply not only of military technology arms and equipment but also ordinary trade. Of course you can ask about what is wrong with ordinary trade. Simply, it enables that racist regime to continue, to maintain its competitiveness in the capitalist world. Without that economy it could not sustain itself. But it also sustains that regime not simply by supplying things but by enabling it to enter markets from which it would be excluded. Israel imports coal from South Africa. Not only is it cheap, but they also have to be paid in turn for what they supply. Thus at a time when our people have risen up on a scale, and for a



length of time, as we have never seen before, we find groups of people actively working out ways to help that racist regime survive. The state of Israel is one of them and we condemn them!

Let me also take the arguments to a moral plane. We don't need to be reminded over and over again of the Jewish experience of oppression and discrimination. What we do need to be reminded about is how people who in their history have experienced this can make the leap and become oppressors on a racist basis themselves. It usually claims its national security as a justification. We have even heard today such statement as, "surrounded by hostile forces" and so on and so forth. I say to the state of Israel what I would say, and have said, to the rulers of racist South Africa. That is, the longer you go on with your armed repression, those very threats you deem possible become more probable because the well of bitterness is being filled to overflowing. This is a real danger. And yet I must tell you in South Africa, that the struggle for liberation is a struggle against a system of oppression, the total disregard for human beings and the value of human life. I know from my experience that within the African National Congress, that such attitudes are widespread, the dominant attitude. But I am not a utopian. I don't believe that the day after the ANC forms a government that we have a non-racist South Africa in practice. We are going to have to build a new society and root out the old attitudes, develop new ones, decent ones.

I want to tell you, there is an irony about South Africa. Perhaps coming from a white South African it might have more validity. The real content of the struggle in South Africa is a struggle for national liberation of black people. And when that struggle has been won and they achieve freedom, they will have also set white people free to live as human beings instead of brutal oppressors. And I believe it is in the interests of people everywhere to put an end to that racist system in South Africa, to put an end to one of the major sources of this ideology, of this justification of racism.

Swedish people have taken a good stand because of their refusal to buy South African agricultural products. This has made it easy for your government to pass a law prohibiting the import of these products. There was no political risk involved as the trade had already been cut heavily. It is the demand of the Swedish people which is compelling the Swedish government to introduce legislation to prohibit all trade with South Africa. This is where the Israeli link comes in. You will pass these laws and see to it that your government enforces these laws. But here it is important, for you

must also find traders, including Swedish traders, who will try to circumvent these laws by finding channels like those through Israel. In order not to undermine the work which you have done, we are saying, be vigilant, don't let it happen. When I say be vigilant, I can already point to a situation where, for instance, Alfa Laval exports goods to South Africa, not directly, but to one country in Europe which exports to another country in Europe and finally to South Africa. It works in many ways, you see, and it is very important to expose these routes since there is a real danger here.

Why pick on Israel in this case then? Because Israel for years has been building these links quite deliberately. It has quite consciously offered itself as a route for avoiding the consequences of the sanctions. There is a clear intention here.

We have called for these sanctions to make shorter the struggle for freedom in South Africa by weakening the racist regime, by weakening its capacity to maintain itself in operation. We need your help to further weaken that regime, shorten the struggle and save lives, black people and white people in my country.

# Israel and South Africa :

## A Natural Alliance

*Robert B. Ashmore*

In May 1988 Israel and South Africa celebrated a fortieth anniversary. Jews in Israel and abroad commemorated forty years of Zionist control over land seized from Palestinians and proclaimed as a «Jewish state» on May 14, 1948. In South Africa the Afrikaners celebrated coming to power in the May 26, 1948 elections on an apartheid platform that has guided the course of National Party politics for the last four decades.

While it may appear coincidental that Zionists and Afrikaners had reasons for celebration in May 1988, history and present circumstance actually link Israel and South Africa in natural alliance. Similar goals, pursued with colonial power support in the face of native peoples' resistance, has characterized the development of both countries.

Inspired alike by a theology of being God's «chosen people» and by a self-appointed mission to become outposts of western civilisation in dark corners of the Third World, Israel and South Africa forged the links of their alliance in a succession of events that trace back as far as 1917, when Chaim Weizmann (future president of Israel) and Jan Smuts (future prime minister of South Africa) met in London and began their collaboration.

A number of the more significant parallels between South Africa and Israel, many to be elaborated in following sections of this essay, can be here summarized :

1. Both countries are international pariahs, perceived as products of western colonialism. South Africa has diplomatic ties with just 35 of the U.N.'s 159 member nations. Israel enjoys diplomatic relations with only 75 countries (as compared to 155 nations that recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization).
2. Religion is invoked in both countries to justify status as elect people of God, chosen to populate a divinely given piece of real estate, and protected by the Almighty in an exodus to the Promised Land.
3. Immigrants and their descendants monopolize decision-making, maintaining political and economic hegemony through segmentation, enforced dependence and cooption.
4. Native peoples lived on the land long before colonial settler arrivals. The natives, culturally and racially related to peoples of surrounding countries, are either exterminated, driven from the land or reduced to endu-

ring inferior status.

5. Support of imperial powers was sought by both colonizers for confiscation of land and subjugation of native peoples. Alignment with Britain and Germany in the case of South Africa, and with Britain and the United States in the case of Israel, provided needed assistance.

6. Self-perceptions are shared : embattled and persecuted peoples increasingly ostracized from the world community, defiant of world opinion, threatened with extinction from unfriendly natives and their sympathetic neighbors, seeking to preserve civilized (i.e. western) values in the face of terrorism and barbarism.

7. Rejection of bona fide secular democracy as equivalent to «destruction of the state». Demands of nationalist native groups that the countries belong to all its peoples are countered by exclusivity claims on the part of the dominant group.

8. Historical revisionism. The Zionist fiction of a land without people for a people without land is coupled with the myth that Palestinians voluntarily left the land in response to Arab nations' appeal for evacuation. Afrikaner fiction has it that blacks came later, attracted by success of white settler enterprises, and that creation of Bantustans relieve South Africa of necessity to be responsible for the natives.

9. Concessions to native demands and relaxation of discriminatory rule is impeded by feared erosion of support from right-wing factions. Both in Israel and South Africa the fascist extreme is a factor in preventing reform, although responsibility historically for creation of apartheid states rests with all parties that held power.

10. Shifts in power to conservative and even more antidemocratic elements were accomplished by victory of Likud over Labor in Israel, and Afrikaner over Union Party in South Africa. Change is to some extent one of style rather than substance, since political ideology is fairly uniform in the dominant groups, Jewish and White, respectively.

11. Utilization of native population as a cheap, surplus labor force to perform menial work not sought by dominant group workers. Discriminatory wage scales, exclusion of natives from specific job categories, denial of many worker benefits, use of I.D. cards and work permits to control influx and compel obedience, confinement of laborers to segregated areas with long-distance commuting to work controlled by the dominant group.

12. Reliance upon development of military superiority as guarantee of status quo survival. Collaboration on arms build-up, including nuclear weapons. Refusal of both to sign Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and refusal of both to permit inspection of nuclear facilities by international agencies. Pre-emptive military strikes into other countries to cripple or destroy potential threats. Assassination at home and abroad conducted against

native opposition leaders.

13. Segregation in the social structure. There is minimal cultural and educational interaction. Superior facilities are for the dominant group. Control of educational curriculum is designed to inculcate a reading of history and an appreciation of culture that is favorable to the ruling interests.

14. Discriminatory economic policies frustrate development of native sector industries and markets, creating a dependent, captive market for finished products produced by the subsidized dominant group.

15. Censorship of media, arrest of journalists, banning of international news reporters, closure of newspapers, and comprehensive efforts to manage the flow of information. Large-scale public relations efforts abroad to create favorable images of life at home.

16. Widespread human rights violations : torture, arrest without stated charges, detention without trial, deportation, use of excessive lethal force, house and town arrests, bannings, beatings, inhumane prior conditions, separation of families, suppression of cultural identity, frustration of political aspiration, removal of native-sponsored representatives, house demolitions, curfews and closed areas.

17. Sanctions against both countries are alleged by them and their supporters to be counter-productive, only increasing paranoia and consequent resort to even more repressive measures in the name of security. Constructive engagement and elimination of vulnerability presumed to be necessary conditions for relaxation of repressive emergency regulations.

18. Both countries are perceived as strategic assets in East/West confrontation. Blocking Communist expansion in their respective spheres of influence is viewed as a major element of foreign policy and principal justification for western interest in their survival.

19. Symptoms of post-traumatic psychosis. Pre-occupation with their own past sufferings and consequent insensitivity to suffering of others. Refusal to recognize the victimization of others as comparable to their own historical victimhood. Paranoia about security disposes them to displays of brutality similar to what they themselves formerly experienced.

20. Development of military capability allows domination of geographic environs and establishes both countries as arms merchants around the world. Neither nation, however, enjoys security. The future is increasingly worrisome for the dominant groups, and opposition both inside and outside sees collapse of apartheid as simply a matter of time.

## Apartheid in South Africa

«Apartheid», a word that means «apart» or «separate», was first used in the Nationalist (Afrikaner) newspaper *Die Burger* in 1943. Apartheid came to stand for a policy of segregation and separate development. In

the fullest sense it is discrimination that is institutionalized and legalized.

The Dutch established the first permanent post of white people in South Africa in 1652, after Jan van Riebeeck was instructed by the Dutch East India Company to set up a comfort station at Cape Town, a mid-point on the voyage from Europe to the East Indies. At the time, two stone-age peoples, the San (called «Bushmen» by whites) and the Khoikhoi (whom the Dutch called «Hottentots»), inhabited the area. By 1659 Riebeeck was taking over the natives' land and stealing their cattle. Riebeeck later asked for slaves to be imported as a supplement to labor provided by the Khoikhoi. A «colored» or mixed racial group resulted from brothel activity and some marriages of whites to slaves brought from India, Madagascar, Angola, Mozambique, Zanzibar, and the East Indies.

Gradually white settlers decided to move inland. There they discovered black clans that had inhabited southern Africa for centuries, even as early as the fifth century A.D. according to radiocarbon dating. The number of black peoples encountered included Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Swazi, Pedi and Venda.

Unable to protect their colonies following the French sweep over the Netherlands after the French Revolution, the Dutch allowed Britain to occupy the Cape and the Dutch East Indies. In 1809 the British introduced the first of the Pass Laws to help Afrikaner farmers («Boers»). The law decreed that Khoikhoi must have a fixed place of abode, and movement was illegal without a pass from their master or local official. Khoikhoi found without their pass could be thrown into prison and then returned to compulsory work for the Afrikaners.

Troubles between British and Afrikaners developed, particularly as the British moved to ban slavery throughout the Empire. In 1837 the «Great Trek» began, as Afrikaners left Cape Colony and moved inward on a flight they likened to that of the children of Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land. Virtually exterminating the San, in one day alone killing 3,000 Zulu, the «Trekboers» moved into Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State regions subsequently united with Cape Colony to form a Union of South Africa.

The discovery of diamonds and gold produced wars that brought all of southern Africa under British control. Brutal treatment of Afrikaner resistance, including the herding of them into concentration camps, characterized the Boer War and generated sympathy for Afrikaners among British liberals. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was created with two Boer generals, Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, as Prime Minister and deputy, respectively.

A blueprint for the Union's state-enforced segregation was prepared under the direction of J.B.M. Hertzog, another Boer War general. Passed

as the Native Land Act of 1913, the law set aside 7.3 percent of the land area (increased to 13 percent in 1936) for blacks, who comprised 67 percent of the population. For the 1.3 million whites, 21 percent of the population, fully 92.7 percent of the land was reserved, including all of the major towns.

Hertzog also launched the National Party, dedicated to giving priority to Afrikaner interests. The 1924 elections swept his party into power, ousting Smuts who had been Prime Minister since Botha's death in 1919. During his fifteen years as prime minister, Hertzog endeavored to strengthen in every way the white man's rule, tightening the color bar and insisting that «civilized» labor replace «uncivilized».

Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resistance, blacks created the African National Congress in 1912. Seeking assistance of the British against racist policies of the Afrikaner government, the ANC met with disappointment. The British, having abandoned all liberal principles, supported the Native Land Act and washed their hands of the entire matter.

As moderation of the ANC got them nowhere, blacks became more militant, striking and forming unions. European communists came to South Africa to help organize the blacks. Meanwhile, Hertzog pressed on with measures designed to curb voting rights. The 1927 Native Administration Act made the governor-general supreme over all blacks, creating a separate legal system and administration for them.

A fusion of rival parties in 1934 brought together the Afrikaner and British whites into a United Party with Hertzog and Smuts as Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister respectively. Rejecting the coalition, a group of extremist Afrikaners relaunched the «Purified National Party» under leadership of Dr. Daniel Malan, dedicated to a religious ideology of Afrikaners as God's chosen people.

With Smuts as Prime Minister, South Africa sided with the British in World War II. Afrikaner resistance produced internment for Nazi sympathizers like B.J. Vorster, later to become Prime Minister.

Then, in 1948, Dr. Malan and the National Party came to power on a platform that declared :

The choice before us is one of these two divergent courses : either that of integration, which would in the long run amount to national suicide on the part of the whites; or that of apartheid, which professes to safeguard the future of every race... the fundamental guiding principle of National Party Policy is preserving and safeguarding the white race.

Malan had Parliament strengthen laws to prohibit intercourse between Europeans and any non-European, as well as to ban marriage between whites and non-whites. Further, the Population Registration Act classified all persons by race, and the designation was stamped on their identity passes. The Group Areas Act marked off areas for residence and occupation by

race and removed each race into its own area. in 1950 Malan appointed Hendrik Verwoerd to be Minister of Native Affairs to expedite apartheid. As ruler of ten million blacks, almost 70 percent of the total population, Verwoerd focused on re-incorporating blacks into homelands or native reserve areas.

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 strengthened the local of tribal chiefs, and the Bantu Education Act of 1955 created an apartheid syllabus so that blacks would learn only what was «practical» for them. ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli (later to win the Nobel Peace Prize) mounted a non-violent defiance campaign against these racist laws. Arrests led to a «Treason Trial» which extended from 1956 until 1961. Inability to prove charges against the blacks left only 30 of 156 defendants standing trial to its end. In March 1961 the remainder were acquitted because the state had failed to prove that the ANC and its allies had pursued a policy of violence.

The 1958 elections produced a huge National Party victory, with Verwoerd elected as Prime Minister. With the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self Government Bill, Verwoerd created eight homelands out of the scattered reserves for blacks, henceforth called «bantustans». Black protests, for example, in March 1960 in Sharpeville produced 69 killed and 180 wounded. By 1961 Verwoerd had withdrawn South Africa from the Commonwealth. He then named to the post of Minister of Justice B.J. Vorster, a man imprisoned during World War II for being a Nazi.

The ANC became convinced that more militant tactics were needed. While seeking to avoid all-out war, so as not to provoke overwhelming white response, an ANC offshoot under Mandela's direction carried out acts of sabotage. The effort reached its end in 1964 with the capture of ANC leaders, including Mandela, who is in custody to this day. The government moved ahead with the transfer of blacks to «independent» bantustans, where natives would have power over local matters only.

By 1963 more than 3.5 million blacks had been transferred to homelands. A general circular stated that «the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic for as long as they offer their labor there». Although displaced blacks were being transferred to land that could not accommodate more cattle or sustain agriculture sufficient for the increased population, the government insisted that all blacks who moved to the bantustans did so voluntarily. «Autonomy» was conferred on sub-states with names like Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, Venda, Qwaqwa, and Kwazulu.

One unforeseen consequence of segregation was the growth in allblack universities of Black Consciousness. One leader of the movement was a medical student named Steve Biko. At age 30, Biko died while in police



custody, despite the fact that he never had been found guilty of any crime.

«Terrorism» had come to be defined as encouraging any feeling of hostility between blacks and whites, or any depiction of white rule as oppressive. By that definition, the Soweto schoolchildren who protested in June 1976 were «terrorists». Lacking national leadership and organization, the schoolchildren throwing stones nevertheless launched a national confrontation with the government. The authorities responded with brutal measures to identify ringleaders and haul them away. Detention laws had been progressively extended to allow police to hold suspects without charging them or bringing them before a court for twelve days (1962), ninety days (1963), 180 days (1965), for an unlimited period if authorized by a judge (1966) and without such authorization (1976).

As the number of Third World members of the United Nations rose, the pressures on South Africa from that body increased. In 1977 and 1978 more whites left the country than entered. The government attempted reforms, largely for the économic reason that South Africa needed more skilled workers than were available among the white population. So, «Section 10 rights» permitted some blacks to remain in previously forbidden areas. Long leases on houses in black townships near white centers were once more made available. By 1975 blacks in the military enjoyed the same status as whites of equal rank.

P.W. Botha, Vorster's successor as Prime Minister, sought to extend the reform movement, arguing that «we must adapt, otherwise we shall die». Botha and his Minister of Defense, Magnus Malan, recognized that survival required more than military strength. But, gains made by the right-wing of the party in 1981 élections put brakes on the pace of reform.

In 1983 Botha proposed a three-chamber Parliament for Whites, Colored, and Indians in a ratio of 4:2:1 that insured white domination. Although this arrangement excluded blacks, they were allowed to elect local authorities in the townships. There was resistance to such collaboration with whites. Rev. Allan Boesak, a colored, who was President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, maintained that «what you call» compromise' for the sake of politics is in fact selling out your principles, your ideals and the future of your children». He and others launched the United Democratic Front in August 1983 and opposed local elections in black townships.

The non-racial and more liberal UDF came to be challenged in the townships by a group calling for total revolution. This Azanian People's Organization, wanting no negotiations with whites, sought elimination of capitalism as well. By 1985 Botha was capitalism as well. By 1985 Botha was prepared to release Nelson Mandela from prison in return for a pledge to stay out of trouble. Mandela's response is instructive concerning the terms for any future peace in South Africa.

I am no less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people, to be free... What freedom am I being offered whilst the organization of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offense? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

Only free men can negotiate... Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

When a member of Parliament visited Mandela in May 1986, she said afterwards, «It is crazy for the government not to take advantage of his position of authority among blacks, authority which I believe he would use to the benefit of all in South Africa... I believe Mr. Mandela's talents should be used before it is too late and far more radical elements take control of the ANC.»

In 1988, at age seventy, Nelson Mandela contracted tuberculosis and was moved to a nursing home.

## De Facto Apartheid In Israel

Israel is officially the «sovereign state of the *Jewish* people», not of its citizens. More than 90 percent of the land is owned by the state which, by transferring resources to the Jewish National Fund and the Jewish Agency, segregate land and subsidies for the exclusive benefit of Jews. Its charter restricts the Jewish National Fund to actions that are «beneficial to persons of Jewish religion, race, or origin».

Meron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, is among those Israeli Jews who admit the racist character of the state. Writing in the *Jerusalem Post* on January 7, 1987, Benvenisti described Israel as :

a bi-national entity with a rigid, hierarchical social structure based on ethnicity. Three and a half million Jewish Israelis hold a total monopoly over governmental resources, control the economy, form the upper social stratum, and determine the educational and national values and objectives of the republic. The two million Palestinians divide into Israeli Palestinians and the Palestinians in the territories. Though the former are citizens of the republic, their citizenship does not assure them equality in law...

The ethnic groups maintain economic interaction defined in professional literature as «internal colonialisme», that is, the inferior economic group serves both as cheap labor and as a market for finished consumer products...

«De facto» apartheid is used in the title of this section to distinguish discrimination in Israel from the comprehensive «de jure» or legal foun-

dation of separateness imposed in the Palestinian territories under Israeli military occupation since 1967. However, it should be recognized that some discrimination is also, a matter of law in Israel. For example, the Law of Return passed in 1950 offers automatic Israeli citizenship upon entrance into the country to any Jew, from anywhere in this world and solely by virtue of Jewishness. Also, the Nationality Law of 1952 places special conditions on the naturalization of non-Jewish residents of Israel who had not acquired citizenship by that date.

Other legalized and institutionalized kinds of discrimination in Israel take more indirect forms. By tying many benefits to military service, from which Palestinians are excluded, the government is able legally to discriminate in favor of Jews. For example, large families are entitled to receive allowances which are 40 percent higher if a member of the family has served in the Israel Defense Forces. Jewish students in seminaries, who are exempted from army service, are compensated from a special fund within the Ministry of Religion. Other economic benefits, contingent on military service, are also denied Palestinians. Mortgage money available for young couples is three times higher for veterans than for others, for example.

«Separate development» is an official philosophy guiding Israeli policy as it does South African policy. In Israel there are separate educational systems for Jews and Palestinians, separate curricula, separate sections for Palestinians within government ministries, and a separate section for Arab affairs within the Histadrut, Israel's labor federation.

The deprivations that Palestinians in Israel experience today are to be understood as the legacy of a 40-year history of discriminatory practices designed to ensure, in the words of Chaim Weizmann, that Zionists would «finally establish such a society in Palestine that Palestine shall be as Jewish as England is English». The most significant source of deprivation was the confiscation of Palestinian land. The recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly, into whose lap the British had dropped the problem, was that Jews should be given 57 percent of the land. Palestinians, who were still two-thirds of the population, were to be allowed to keep only 4,300 of the 10,000 square miles of Palestine.

It is ironic that Zionists point to the General Assembly recommendation of November 29, 1947 as legitimation for its statehood, since David Ben Gurion thereafter declared that Israel «considers the United Nations resolution of 29 November, 1947, as null and void». Moreover, Israel has in subsequent years found reason to reject virtually all other United Nations decisions regarding Israel. It was never the intention of Zionists to be content with just part of Palestine, since the official policy was to create a Jewish state in *all* of Palestine. As Ben Gurion said, «To maintain the sta-

tus quo will not do. We have to set up a dynamic state bent upon expansion.»

By early 1949, the Zionists occupied another 20 percent of the land beyond the 57 percent proposed by the Partition Plan, with the remaining 23 percent of Palestine to be seized in 1967. Chaim Weizmann declared it «a miraculous clearing of the land : the miraculous simplification of Israel's task». The standard Israeli explanation has long been that Palestinians voluntarily left the land in response to appeals from Arab regimes intent on invading Palestine to push back the Zionists. That explanation has never been supported by any evidence. Painstaking research by scholars examining archives of Arab governments, Arabic newspapers of the time, and radio monitoring reports of the BBC discovered just the opposite, that Arab and Palestinian authorities had urged the people not to evacuate.

The Zionist myth about the Palestinian exodus, now thought to have been invented by Yosef Weitz, a director of the Jewish National Fund in 1948, is today being exploded by several Israeli historians, among them Tom Segev (*1949 : The Fist Israelis*), Simha Flapan (*The Birth of Israel : Myths and Realities*), and Benny Morris (*The Palestinian Refugee Problem*). Morris discusses the predicament Israel Defense Forces faced when Palestinians in the towns of Ramle and Lydda did not flee as expected because of the fighting. Operation Commander Yigal Allon and his deputy, Yitzhak Rabin, were with Ben-Gurion. Allon asked, «What shall we do with the Arabs?» who numbered between 50-70,000. «Ben Gurion made a dismissive gesture with his hand and said ' expel them ».

Once the fighting stopped, Israel set about confiscating not only the land of the 750,000 Palestinians who fled or were expelled but also, over a longer period of time, much of the land of Palestinians who remained. Enabling legislation in 1948 authorized seizure of «uncultivated» land; a 1949 law permitted expropriation of land for «security» reasons; a 1950 law transferred property from «absentées» to the state, with «absentee» so cleverly defined that it was applicable to half the Palestinians remaining in Israel; a 1953 law legitimized all previous confiscations of land, whether or not occurring by due process; a 1958 law demanded proof of land possession for a longer period than Ottoman Law had required; finally, a law for the Acquisition of Land in the Public Interest was used to confiscate some of the best farm land remaining in Palestinian hands to create Jewish townships in Nazareth, Carmiel, and elsewhere.

Confiscated land was transferred to the Jewish National Fund as the «irrevocable patrimony of the Jewish people», eliminating the possibility of sales to Palestinians, and mandating its use exclusively for Jews. Between 1948 and 1970 land transferred to the Jewish National Fund from the government of Israel included; about 40 percent of the land owned by

Palestinians who remained legal residents of Israel but were declared «present absentées»; hundreds of thousands of dunums (a dunum = 1/4 acre) cultivated by Bedouin in the Negev; and the assets of the Moslem Waqf, a religious endowment to which Palestinians over times had donated land and money for the benefit of the Moslem community.

Unabashedly discriminatory land expropriation took place in still another way. First, an area of Palestinian-owned agricultural land was declared a «closed area» according to Article 125 of the Emergency Regulations, meaning that the owners could not enter it for any reason whatsoever. After three years the land was classified as uncultivated and therefore subject to confiscation. Having now passed into the Jewish land reserve, the «closed area» classification was lifted and permission was given to Jewish farmers to resume its cultivation. In 1962 Shimon Peres, then director general of the Ministry of Defense, said that, «by making use of Article 125, on which the Military Government is to a great extent based, we can directly continue the struggle for Jewish settlement and Jewish immigration». The Military Government to which Peres referred was a key element in the apartheid policy of Israel toward its Palestinian population. For eighteen years, from 1948 to 1966, a «Military Administration», whose governor was appointed by the defense minister, exercised virtually dictatorial powers over Palestinians in Israel. The same Emergency Regulations used by Israel to control the Palestinians were described, when applied against the Jews by British Mandate authorities, as «officially licensed terrorism». One future Israeli Minister of Justice, Yaacov Shapira, had complained that they were «unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany».

An «emergency situation» was declared in Israel immediately after the state was created and, although the apartheid Military Administration over Palestinians was removed in 1966, the «emergency» declaration remains in force to this day, allowing the government to act when it sees fit against Palestinians.

Segregation of Palestinians from each other and from Jewish society was a primary function of the Military Government during the eighteen years of its operation. Restriction of travel was one means utilized to fragment the Palestinian community. Military permits were required for travel beyond one's own village, and these permits specified the date, the destination, the route to be traveled, and the time of return. Palestinians found without proper permits were, like blacks in South Africa, subject to imprisonment and fines.

One purpose served by restrictions on travel was to prohibit gatherings of politically minded Palestinians and to prevent the formation of any Arab party or movement. Palestinian attempts to assemble or organize were sup-

pressed by direct action of the Military Administration : confiscating permits, issuing expulsion orders, closing roads, making arrests, and declaring «closed areas». In 1965 a small group of Palestinian intellectuals, called the «el-Ard Group», dared to present a list of candidates for election to the Knesset. The Military Administration moved swiftly, refusing permission for the Arab list to appear on the ballot, banishing el-Ard's leaders to remote Jewish towns, putting the party's members in prison, and finally declaring the political party illegal.

Internal fragmentation of the Palestinian population and isolation from the Jewish majority was pursued by the military with enduring consequences and openly discriminatory means. «Judaization of the Galilee» (compare a program to make parts of South Africa «white») was pursued by expropriation of Palestinian land, economic subsidies to Jewish settlements, and expulsion of native populations. In the «Little Triangle» area, 80 percent of the land of Um el Fahm was confiscated from its inhabitants. In Nazareth the Israelis were so concerned about the existence of a Palestinian urban center that they decided to create an «upper» Nazareth of Jews. By 1973 the apartheid scheme had produced a Jewish Upper Nazareth population of 18,000. Even though the population of Palestinian Nazareth was double that, the land allocated for expansion of Jewish Nazareth was three times the allocation for «lower» Nazareth.

The tireless public relations projection abroad of Israel as «the only democracy in the Middle East» results in disbelief when westerners and especially Americans catch some stray glimpse of the apartheid society in Israel. Little is known in the United States, for example, of the fact that : civil marriage is not recognized in Israel; that intermarriage between Jews and Druse, Christian, and Moslem Arabs is prohibited; that Bedouin in the Negev have been forcibly herded into reservations; that curricula for Palestinian schools must avoid themes reflecting Palestinian culture and nationalist history and, in fact, must devote more time to study of Jewish history than Arab history; that the government consistently allocates substantially less money for Palestinian education, housing, and municipal services. For example, 1983 municipal budget allocations by the Israeli Government showed \$1,688 per capita assigned to Jewish Nazareth and \$629 per capita to Palestinian Nazareth.

From its creation in 1920, the Israeli labor union and welfare organization, known as «Histadrut», was a major instrument of apartheid policy. Similar to the Afrikaner policy of protecting white jobs at the expense of blacks, the Histadrut demanded that Jewish firms hire only Jewish workers. Not until 1959 were Palestinians admitted as members. Even so, Palestinians have been excluded from positions of authority and, despite the fact that Histadrut owns thousands of factories and firms, there has been

a deliberate effort not to locate them in Palestinian villages.

With 92 percent of Israel's land area confiscated as «inalienable property of the Jewish people», and the Jewish National Fund not allowed under any circumstance to transfer ownership of land once acquired, the Palestinian population has been largely reduced to wage labor status. As in South Africa, Palestinian workers must travel to menial jobs controlled by Jewish employers in urban areas, with their own villages functioning largely as bedroom communities.

In the dual economy, Israel institutions have maintained underdevelopment of the Palestinian sector to sustain dependence on the Jewish sector. The continuous flow of money and expertise from contributions of world Jewry, German reparation payments, U.S. foreign aid, and Israeli Government allocations channeled through the Jewish Agency and the JNF goes to the Jewish sector. Apartheid regulations that only Jews be employed on JNF land, that bonus payments go to wholesalers who buy Jewish crops, that Palestinian companies be denied loans on the same terms available to Jewish competitors, that Jewish settlements receive free of charge several municipal services that Palestinian villages must collect taxes to finance - are illustrative of the «internal colonialism» that the Jewish state has imposed upon its Palestinian minority.

Apartheid structures have ensured that there are no centers of Palestinian power, either economic or political. Yigal Allon, an architect of Israeli policy toward the Palestinians, wrote a book in 1959 with the significant title, *A Curtain of Sand*. In it he said, «It is necessary to declare it openly. Israel is a single-nationality Jewish state».

## De Jure Apartheid in the Occupied Territories

Since the Six Day War of 1967, 850,000 Palestinians on the West Bank and nearly 600,000 Palestinians in Gaza have found their lives totally subject to the control of an Israeli military governor.

Immediately after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Israel imposed upon Palestinians the Defence Emergency Regulations of 1945 that Britain had revoked (although Israelis deny it) in May 1948. Ironically, Jews vehemently denounced the Regulations when they themselves were subject to the British during the Mandate. Meeting in Tel Aviv on February 7, 1946, the Jewish Lawyers Association resolved that «these regulations undermine law and justice, and constitute a grave danger to the life and liberty of the individual, establishing a rule of violence without any juridical control». Conferees charged, «Even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws... It is mere euphemism to call the military courts' courts. To use the Nazi title, they are no better than Military Judicial Committees advising the Generals».

Jews have employed not only these Regulations, but also 1191 military orders in the West Bank and close to 900 in Gaza. While Jewish settlers in the territories enjoy full Israeli citizenship, Palestinians in their own homeland are «permanent alien residents». The apartheid legal system has Jewish residents subject to Israeli law, removed from the jurisdiction of the local court system, and allowed to establish their own settlement courts.

The location of Jewish settlements in West Bank and Gaza is illegal according to international law. The Fourth Geneva Convention, applicable to the territories in the view of the United States as well as the United Nations, declares in Article 49 : «The Occupying Power shall not depart or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies». The same Geneva Convention states : «Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive». Nevertheless, between 1967 and 1978 alone, over 1,156 Palestinians were deported from the Occupied Territories and, as recently as April 1988, deportations from the West Bank village of Beita were taking place to satisfy the demands of Jewish settlers.

Confiscation of land has proceeded since 1967 to the point that 53 percent of the West Bank (not including East Jerusalem) and 81 percent of the Gaza Strip is now earmarked for exclusive Jewish settlement. Seizure is accomplished by various means : expropriation for military purposes; declaration that it is «state land»; declaration that it is «abandoned property»; and, finally, that it is land expropriated for «public» purposes.

In the West Bank approximately 65,000 Jews are illegally settled, while in Gaza there are less than 2,500 Jewish settlers, or 0.4 percent of the total Gaza population. Nevertheless, these Jewish settlers consume 19 times more water per capita than the Palestinians. In Gaza a ban on new wells applies only to the Palestinians. Israelis are sinking new wells deeper than those of the Palestinians, not only to supply the Jewish settlements, but also to meet the needs of Israeli farmers inside the «green line» of pre 1967 Israel. The 600,000 Palestinians of Gaza, about 70 percent of whom live in refugee camps, are situated in an area just 28 miles long and five miles wide. However, since most of the Gaza Strip is off-limits to Palestinians, it is estimated that they have .006 acres each, while Jewish settlers have an average 2.6 acres each, while Jewish settlers have an average 2.6 acres each.

During the 20 years of Israeli military rule, Palestinians have paid a net «occupation tax» of \$800 million, thus not only financing their own subjection to foreign rule, but also subsidizing other Israeli projects. Some 100,000 Palestinians from the territories have been reduced to wage labor in menial and low-paying jobs in Israel. The average income per person



in Israel is 10 times higher than for Gazans, and over four times that of workers from the West Bank. Palestinian migrant workers are not allowed to join the Histadrut union, and no Palestinian union has ever been recognized by an Israeli employer. Still, registered workers must make the same social security payments as Israeli workers.

While some 30,000 Palestinian are registered workers inside Israel, many more are part of the «Arab slave market» working illegally in Israel. Employers often prefer children and women because they are cheaper. For that part of the surplus work force who do get jobs in Israel, after a dawn awakening to congregate at places where Israelis select them for work, there is typically four hours of travelling each day to and from a work site in Israel. Reminiscent of South Africa, Palestinians from the territories are banned from staying in Israel overnight and so must return to their own area after work. Israeli employers often skirt the law by locking Palestinians up in «dormitories» at the workplace, so that workers who leave at dawn on Sunday will not see their families until the next Friday night.

Restrictions are severe for Palestinians who try to make a living in the territories. Farmers are prevented from exporting to Israel products that might compete with Israeli agriculture. In fact, they must obtain a permit before planting any new vegetables or trees. In Gaza, an Israeli ban on new trees has caused a severe decline in the once flourishing Palestinian citrus industry.

Since 1967 the military government has functioned, not according to the requirements of international law applicable to occupying powers, but rather as an instrument for Israeli annexation of the territories and expulsion of its native inhabitants. The Hague Regulations, Article 55, declare that the occupying power may administer state property, but cannot impair its substance or alter its character. In spite of this, there has been established in military headquarters a Special Land Registration Department whose records and operations are secret. It is here that confiscated land is registered in the names of Jews. In practice, the first clue that Palestinians often have of land being seized by the military is the sight of bulldozers preparing the land for construction of a Jewish settlement. Military Orders 59 and 364 make a mere declaration by the military to be sufficient evidence that property is state land, with a burden of proof to the contrary falling on Palestinians who have no right of appeal to the Israeli High Court, but only to an military committee.

All powers of land use planning are in the hands of officers appointed by the military, with no consultation of Palestinians living on the land. The purposes are evident. For example, Road Plan No. 50 seeks to avoid Palestinian towns and villages, connect Jewish settlements to each other, and create access roads for the settlements to main Israeli metropolitan

areas. Apartheid of peoples is accomplished by extension of Israeli law extra-territorially specifically to Jews, and by giving Jewish settlements a different legal status from that of Palestinian population centers. The Israeli Government in 1968 invested absolute power over Palestinians in the military government, declaring «The Area Commander is the exclusive formal authority within the the area. He is the legislator, he is the head of the executive, and he appoints local officials and local judges. «Whatever appearances of democracy exist in Israel itself for the Palestinians, for approximately 1,4 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza there is not even the pretense of democracy.

Palestinians may have their premises searched and may be arrested by any Israeli soldier without a warrant. The detainees can be held for 18 days without trial, and the detention is renewable without the presence of a lawyer for the defendant. Applications for habeas corpus are not accepted, and access to the legal representation (subject to the discretion of the Prison Commander) is not permitted until «interrogation» has been completed. Complete isolation from the outside world for at least 14 days (after which a visit from the Red Cross may occur) sometimes produces a confession. For years Palestinians complained of torture to force confessions while in detention. When, in 1983, I questioned a member of the Knesset in her Jerusalem office about consistent reports of torture, I was assured by her, as member of a committee that had oversight of prisons, that Palestinians were not mistreated, but rather that «the PLO instructed them» to make such allegations.

In August 1987 an inquiry was finally undertaken. A commission headed by former High Court Justice Moshe Landau was set up to investigate the case, not of a Palestinian, but of a Circassian officer in the Israeli army who was convicted of treason on the basis of perjured testimony by Israel's General Security Service (also known as Shin Bet). Although the commission concluded that the S.S. had systematically tortured Palestinians for at least sixteen years, and had also routinely lied in court about the methods used, it recommended non action against those responsible for what it called «ideological criminality». Rather, it expressed its approval of a «moderate amount of physical pressure» during some interrogations, thus giving the go-ahead for torture in future situations.

Confessions written in Hebrew are in a large percentage of cases the only basis for judgment by the military court, whose decisions are not subject to appeal. The Israeli High Court has accepted military government contentions that the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, international law on the rights of civilians under military occupation, is not binding. And the High Court regularly refuses to question actions of military authorities based on «security» considerations. Even in cases where Palestinians attempt appeal to the High Court in Israel, they are not allowed to be repre-

sented there by Palestinian lawyers, although Israeli lawyers are permitted by military order to appear before all West Bank courts.

«Security» has become a blanket which is used to justify whatever action the military chooses - for example, refusal to permit a needlework cooperative or establishment of a YWCA center. In 1984, Hebrew newspapers reported that a cement factory project in Hebron had for years been denied a permit by the military because Israeli factories were not selling enough cement.

Military control over the personal lives of Palestinians is comprehensive. Reminiscent of the hated pass laws in South Africa (which have now been repealed in South Africa), Palestinians in the territories are required at all times to carry identity cards that may be confiscated by any soldier without reason. Even with an identity card, no Palestinian may leave the territories without permission, nor is he or she permitted to be in Israel between 1 A.M. and 5 A.M. Military authorization is required to practice a profession such as law or medicine, to obtain a driver's licence or licence a vehicle. Semeeha Khalil, director of the Society for Family Assistance in Bireh, told me in 1985 that a bus purchased to transport children to the center had sat idle on the grounds for one year, because the military refused to issue a licence for its use.

Mrs Khalil also answered my question concerning why a map of Palestine on the wall of the office was utterly devoid of place names. She explained that the military had ordered removal of an earlier map which contained names of towns and villages, because Israel since 1947 has destroyed 385 of the 475 Arab villages within the «green line».

A military permit is necessary for any transaction in real property, for receipt or entry of money into the territories, for start-up of a business, to dig a well or to transport water, to print any publication whatsoever, to bring into the territories any newspaper or other publication, to possess audiovisual material including cassettes and videos, to wear any clothing or possess any article whatsoever that contains the four colors of the Palestinian flag.

Punishment is not restricted to individuals suspected of having committed offenses. A favored practice of the military is house demolition, which has been condemned by both Amnesty International and the Red Cross as a violation of international law that prohibits collective punishment. In April 1988 the military blew up fourteen homes belonging to families in the village of Beita and also deported six villagers. No trial occurred prior to any of these actions.

On June 3, 1988 *The New York Times* reported that 2,000 Palestinians from the territories were prisoners in a corner of the Negev desert, «home only to lizards, scorpions and hellish heat that often inches up toward 120

degrees». These Palestinians, reported Joel Brinkley, «have not been charged with a crime, given a hearing, or even told what offenses they committed...» Removal of Palestinians from the territories into Israel is itself a violation of international law.

When information of this sort does reach the outside world, it sometimes occurs in spite of Israeli censorship. Frequently a village or refugee camp is declared a «closed area» to journalists and anyone else before the army moves in to shoot, beat and arrest Palestinians. Other times the press credentials of offending journalists are lifted, as happened in April 1988 to Martin Fletcher of NBC News and Glenn Frankel of the *Washington Post*. When Israel in 1982 was daily dropping U.S. bombs from U.S. planes on the civilian population of Beirut, American TV news was broadcast sometimes with a blacked-out picture due to Israeli censorship of the footage.

All publications in Israel and in the occupied territories are censored, although the heaviest burden is borne by Palestinians. Publishers are deported (e.g., Akram Haniyeh in December 1986 after the High Court denied him and his attorney access to alleged evidence against him), or given administrative detention, a euphemism for imprisonment without trial for up to six months, which can be renewed repeatedly. Such was the fate of Reduan Abu Eyash, head of the Arab Journalists' Association, who told *The New York Times* after his release in June 1988 that so many people were packed into his cell, «we had to eat standing up». Often the newspapers themselves are shut down (e.g., *Al-Ittihad* in March 1988). A major source of information for the foreign press was Palestine Press Service, closed by the military for six months in 1988, in spite of the fact that the press service had always submitted its material to the military censor.

Repression in the occupied territories increasingly infects Israel itself. The Israeli newspaper *Derekh Ha-Nitsots* was shut down in February 1988, and its editors at the time of this writing are still in prison without access to their lawyers. In February 1987 the Jewish director of Alternative Information Center in West Jerusalem was arrested and placed in solitary confinement. Among the charges levelled against the center was that its staff had been preparing a study on torture of Palestinian detainees in Israel prisons. The prosecutor argued that this was evidence the center was carrying out incitement, declaring «Such a study would teach detainees how to resist torture».

Educational institutions at all levels are the object of continual harassment by Israel military authorities. Universities are repeatedly raided and closed down; students are prevented from reaching campus because of road blocks or lengthy inspection of identity papers; books are banned; laboratory equipment is heavily taxed; and professors are deported.

Dr. Hanna Nasir, exiled president of Bir Zeit University, was arrested

by Israeli military on the night of November 21, 1974, blindfolded, driven to the border, and ordered to walk across into Lebanon. Other professors were barred from teaching or summarily deported for refusal to sign a «loyalty oath» drawn up by the military in 1982. Dr. Muhammed Shadid of Najah University dared to publish in 1986 the results of a scientific poll and was promptly denied a permit to continue teaching.

Palestinian intellectuals not deported or imprisoned have been served with town arrest or house arrest orders. Faisal Husseini, head of the prestigious Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem, is currently in prison under a second consecutive six month administration detention. This follows six years of town arrest during the day and house arrest at night. In 1985 the Israeli High Court refused his request to be charged and tried. The judges told him that his file is secret, unavailable to him or his lawyers.

The last elections permitted by the Israeli «democracy» were in 1976. Since then, Palestinian mayors have been deported (e.g., the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul) or have been the victims of car bomb maimings (e.g., the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah). Elected city councils throughout the occupied territories were dissolved, and today all government is controlled by the Israeli military. When Israel claims that there is nobody with whom to negotiate among the Palestinians, it is part because any emerging leadership is crushed. In 1985-86 there were 36 deportation orders, 168 administrative detention orders, 168 administrative detentions, 93 town arrests, and 103 home demolitions. In June 1988 Israel even deported the Gandhian disciple of non-violence, Mubarak Awad.

## The Israel - South Africa Connection.

Comparisons between Israel and South Africa exist by design, rooted in a history of collaboration that traces as far back as thirty years before the state of Israel came into being.

Chaim Weizmann and Jan Smuts, after their London meeting in June 1917, would become, respectively, the first president of Israel and prime minister of South Africa. Both of them saw the possibilities of exploiting British imperial interests for their own purposes. Weizmann had written in 1914 that England needed Palestine to safeguard approaches to Egypt and that, if Palestine were opened for Jewish settlement, then «England would have a country». And Smuts envisioned an Anglo-Boer union in South Africa, he and his colleague General Botha forming a political party «open to all white men whether Boer, Jew or Briton».

Although racist and sometimes anti-Semitic, South Africa's leaders saw the wisdom of supporting Zionism. Jews were well represented among the industrialists and financial interests of South Africa and, by the end of

World War I, constituted per capita the wealthiest Jewish community in the world.

Weizmann sought the influence of General Smuts, who had joined the War Cabinet in London. Smuts responded with such support that he was later able to write the Anglo American Committee of Inquiry «as one of those who in 1917 took an active part in the planning of the Balfour Declaration». Until his death in 1950, Smuts maintained a close, cooperative relation with Weizmann, neither of them questioning the other's right to fashion a state that denied the indigenous people. Near the end of his life, in 1947, Smuts wrote that «I am a South African European proud of our heritage and proud of the clean European society we have built up which I am determined not to see lost in the black pool of Africa». When he died, the acting Israeli Prime Minister, Joseph Sprinzak, declared, «General Smuts is written on the map of Israel and in the heart of our nation». Two years later, on March 18, 1952, Israel formally dedicated Smuts Forest in the Judean hills, overlooking the Weizmann Forest.

The Nationalist Party, which succeeded to power in South Africa after the creation of Israel, worked to contain its pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic attitudes in order to preserve the economic support of South Africa's wealthy Jews, and to maintain white solidarity in backing of a minority racist regime. In return for a Nationalist Party embrace of South Africa's Jews and the party's strong support for the state of Israel, the Jews of South Africa accepted Nationalist Party politics and policies. The natural basis of such kinship was recognized by the virulently racist prime minister of South Africa, Hendrik Verwoerd. He noted in 1961 that Jews «took Israel from the Arab after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years. In that I agree with them, Israel, like South Africa, is an apartheid state». At a Cape Town memorial service following Verwoerd's assassination in 1966, the Chief Rabbi manifested how Jews looked on him as «a man of sincerity and of deep integrity... a moral conscience underlay his policies : he was the first man to give apartheid a moral ground.»

By 1961 South Africa had become Israel's chief trading partner in Africa. When Israel launched the Six Day War in June of 1967, Prime Minister Vorster's government in South Africa released over \$28 million to Israel from Zionist groups and permitted South African volunteers to work and fight in Israel. As Vorster saw it, both South Africa and Israel must «deal with terrorists across the border» and «fight against enemies bent on their destruction».

South Africa outlawed the African National Congress, as did Israel the Palestine Liberation Organization. Both countries still refuse to negotiate with those nationalist organizations of the indigenous populations, thus blocking direct negotiations that could resolve differences by diplom

macy and nonviolence. It was Percy Yutar, président of the Johannesburg United Hebrew Congregation, who served as prosecutor in the infamous trial of Nelson Mandela and his ANC associates, and in 1968, Yutar was made Attorney General of the Orange Free State.

Over the year Israel and south Africa cultivated increasingly intimate relations, culminating in joint research and production of nuclear weapons. In 1950 the Israeli prime minister visited South Africa, and three years later South Africa's prime minister, Daniel Malan, was the first foreign head of government to pay a visit to Israel. Diplomatic ties between the two countries were elevated the two countries were elevated to full amabassadorial status, and the *Jerusalem Post* indicated that Israel «is the first country with which South Africa has set up a joint ministerial Africa has set up a joint ministerial committee to promote economic cooperation».

The diamond cutting industry, which has at times accounted for more than 30 percent of Israel's total exports, gets raw material from South Africa. During the 1980's South Africa has exported in excess of \$100 millions of uncut gems to Israel each year.

Military cooperation began as early as 1955 with the delivery of Uzi submachine guns from Israel. Centurion tanks were sold to South Africa in 1962, and that same year South Africa shipped ten tons of uranium to Israel for use in the Dimona nuclear reactor.

The two contries refuse to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968, and consequently do not permit inspection of their nuclear plants by the International Atomic Energy Commission. However, the world has long known what Mordechai Vanunu, now serving an 18-year prison sentence in Israel, confirmed. The Israeli technician, who had worked in the Dimona plant for ten years, talked to the *Sunday Times* in London, which then published in October 1986 détails of Israel's nuclear build-up, an assembly thus far of at least 100 and as many as 200 nuclear weapons. Vanunu also expressed awareness that Shout African matallurgists, technicians and scientists were at the Israeli plant.

In September 1979, the two countries detonated a nuclear devie over the South Atlantic, and Israel has supplied South Africa with the Jericho missile, which is able to carry a nuclear warhead. A joint naval project is development of nuclear submarines which are being builtin in South Africa, with assistance from Israeli engineers and design experts. Israeli expertise has provided South Africa with patrol and missile boats, Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles, and training in Israel for South African navy personnel.

The South African air force has been described as entirely an Israeli creation. Using the same Mirage-3 jets, Israel and South Africa were able to share experience and spare parts. In 1986 South Africa unveiled its new jet fighter, the «Cheetah», which is virtually identical to the Israeli Kfir-2

jet. The *Jerusalem Post* reported in November 1987 that South Africa was vigorously recruiting Israeli engineers who worked on the Lavi aircraft project, offering salaries of \$84,000 a year. These new recruits join 12-15,000 other Israelis already at work in South Africa. What should be especially unsettling to Americans is the fact that it was the United States that heavily subsidized the Lavi project in Israel - technology of which is now being transferred to South Africa.

In an encounter with Israel's Prime Minister Shamir on March 16, 1988, the Congressional Black Caucus raised the Lavi issue and described it as an «unconscionable» use of U.S. aid. In the meeting with Shamir, Congressman George Crockett questioned the prime Minister on «his government's brutal response to the Palestinian uprising» and asked when «the curfews, the closed military zones, the beatings, the house raids, the gunshots, the rubber bullets, the tear-gassing and mass deportations would end». American Jews have manifested alarm in recent years about growing estrangement between Black and Jewish communities in the United States. The Congressional Black Caucus got to the heart of the matter with Shamir. «Recalling the inhumanities of slavery in this country, having suffered the indignities of racial discrimination, Black Americans recognize and identify with those who are oppressed throughout the world. We, thus, feel a growing kinship with the Palestinians».

Inconsistency and self-contradiction applies to Israel's relation with South Africa. Prime Minister Vorster's official trip to Israel in April 1976 included a visit of this Nazi collaborator to Yad Vashem, the memorial to victims of Nazism. In 1984, R.F. Botha, South Africa's Foreign Minister, was greeted at the airport by Shamir, and a red carpet was rolled out for him as it had been for Vorster. He was feted at a luncheon with Abba Eban at the King David Hotel and also met with the Israel Defence Minister, Yitzhak Rabin.

Israeli officers train South African white soldiers; Israeli military advisors assist South Africa in Angola and are stationed in Namibia; Israeli technicians are busy erecting along South Africa's borders a network of electronic fences, microwave detection and radar systems, and minefields - all of which copy Israel's blockade against Palestinians. South Africa as a place of immigration for Israel's Jews seeking a new home.

With more Jews today leaving Israel than moving to Israel, the motivation becomes clearer in pro-Israeli agitation to release Soviet Jews. Israel needs more Jews to populate West Bank and Gaza settlements on confiscated Palestinian terrain. Not only are these settlements sparsely populated, but Israel worries about how to offset the «demographic time bomb» that promises to produce a majority population of Palestinians after the turn



of the century, thus establishing one further similarity between Israel and South Africa.

The U.S. approach to both countries has done little to discourage Israeli and South African intransigence toward their native peoples' rights. For example, in 1987 the United States was continuing to use its threat of withholding dues to prevent the International Atomic Energy Agency from expelling Israel and South Africa. The U.S. resists ejection of these two countries despite the fact that both refuse to sign the Nonproliferation Treaty, both collaborate on nuclear weapons development, and both disallow IAEA inspection of their nuclear facilities. And, at the same time as the United States has publicly expressed criticism of Israel's brutality during the Palestinian uprising, it has quietly advanced military cooperation.

In its March 1988 meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, the Congressional Black Caucus pointed out another disturbing aspect of U.S. foreign aid to Israel. Black congressmen complained, «All of the federal programs geared toward helping low income Americans received only \$491 per capita» for fiscal year 1987, while aid to Israel in 1987 was \$686 per capita.

However, effective the Jewish lobby has been in downplaying Israeli/South African comparisons, the victims of apartheid under both regimes know well the similarities. Rev. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Churches and a leader of the struggle in South Africa, spoke at a conference sponsored by Palestine Human Rights Campaign in Washington, D.C. in September 1987. he said:

What is it that makes Israel take into its bosom a government that in spirit, philosophy, and actions reminds us more of Hitler than any other government today? There is something wrong here. And this is what brings me tonight to speak to you...

We must remember because, you see, your struggle and our struggle is not only against apartheid either here or there. It is not only against injustice, exploitation; it is not only against the dehumanization of our peoples; it is also a struggle against forgetfulness... We must remember that this land, yours and ours, belongs to all of us and not simply to a small elitist clique who now has claimed the land simply because they have more guns, more deadly weapons, and more friends in high places.

Until U.S. human rights rhetoric, as expressed by Président Reagan at the Moscow summit in May 1988, is matched by effective action against apartheid in Israel and South Africa, human rights advocates will continue to accuse the United States of hypocrisy, and American foreign policy increasingly will be seen as an instrument for the alienation of Third World peoples. Meanwhile, the siege mentality shared by South Africa and Israel deepens as the power of Third World countries grows. Paranoia about «sur-

vival» and «security» will come to have more and more basis in reality if a hybrid Bantu-Zionism persists in denying self-determination and genuine equality to both native peoples.

# Israeli-South African Relations: The Power of Realpolitik

*Yossi Melam and Dan Raviv*

*Davar, February 20, 1987*

The Israeli Radio broadcasted at the end of 1980 a news item about the secret visit held by Minister of Defence Ezer Weitzman in South Africa. Because the item concerned security it was given to the military censor, and approved by it. It would seem that there was no reason to prohibit the publication since the news item dealt with relations between two countries with diplomatic relations. But the publication on the radio caused Weitzman to ask his secretary to call the censor and ask him to prohibit the publication. 15 minutes after the item was broadcasted the news desk in Jerusalem received a phone call from the censor prohibiting any further publication of this news item. This story, which appears in a book written by the British journalist James Adams, who investigated the Israeli-SA relations, is a good example of the great sensitivity in Jerusalem to the special connections with Pretoria. Foreign correspondents in Israel are well aware of this sensitivity, and they closely follow any piece of information dealing with the relations between the two countries. At the time, seven years ago, the foreign correspondents suspected that there is some connection between Weitzman's mysterious visit and the report of CBS a month earlier, that Israel and SA have cooperated in nuclear weapons research. The claims about nuclear cooperation between Israel and SA have been feeding international media and intelligence in the East and the West for years, and are central in the report about a strategic alliance between the two countries.

Weitzman's visit was not extraordinary. For the last decade Israeli Ministers of Defence have been secretly visiting Pretoria and strengthening the ties between the two countries. These relations have been called by various names, such as "the unnatural alliance", since it is difficult to understand the special relations between "the Jewish state", refuge for victims of anti-semitism, and the racist regime of Apartheid in SA. Only the last of such visits, that of Minister of Defence Rabin last month, was according to the News-

week, different than the precious visits. Contrary to former visits, this one was not supposed to promote strategic military relations but to restrict them. For the first time since 1974, when this alliance was made, the relations between Jerusalem and Pretoria stand at a dangerous junction. On April 1st the President of the USA is supposed to submit to the Congress a report concerning military aid to SA. The law passed by the Congress in October 1986 against Apartheid obliges the President to do so, contrary to his will. According to this report the Congress will then decide how to treat countries which will be defined as breaking the embargo on arms sales to SA, declared by the UN in 1977. According to paragraph 508 in the American law, the Congress may declare sanctions going as far as stopping military aid to countries which will be found to break the embargo. US embassies all over the world, and especially in Tel Aviv and Pretoria, aided by intelligence agencies and the CIA, are already preparing the material to be submitted to the White House and then to the Congress. The Los Angeles Times even reported that a special investigator appointed by the Administration had recently visited Israel in order to collect information on the subject.

As the day of presenting the report approaches, the feeling of nervousness grows in Jerusalem. If one may describe the relations between Jerusalem and Washington in recent years as the revelation of a minefield, Israeli scientific espionage and the employment of Jonathan Pollard, the deep involvement in the arms sales to Iran and the money transferred to the Contras, then the South African issue is the next mine that may cloud the good relations between the two countries. The attempt to neutralise this potential mine was one of the main targets of Shamir's recent visit to the USA. "On this issue Israel is in a bind" a senior Israeli official dealing with the matter told us. If Israel will initiate anti-Apartheid measures then this will cause military, economical strategic damage to her alliance with Pretoria and it will anger President Reagan. But if Israel will not take the required measures, then this will raise the anger of the Black community in the USA and of the Congress under the Democratic Party, and that may lead to a confrontation which could lead to loss of the military aid (1.8 billion dollars a year). Israelis are hoping that after the "Pollardgate" and the "Irangate" Israel will not find itself now in a new scandal "South Africagate". This fear and this dilemma created in recent weeks a serious confrontation among Israeli leadership on the question of how to handle the relations with the SA.

Those who are defining policies are divided into two groups. One is represented by Yossi Beilin, the political director of the Foreign Office who is demanding that Israel should join the first line of Western states and like them declare political, economical and military sanctions on SA. Dr. Beilin, a moderate Dove in the Labour Party, believes that Israel must not fall behind the West in this matter. In a paper which he prepared he proposed that, like most Western countries, Israel should restrict its economical ties with SA in a process of "deinvestments". Among others, Israel should prohibit the import of the Kruger and gold coins, stop El Al flights, stop the exchange of political, economic, sport and youth delegations, try with the aid of trade unions to make contracts with the Black community and join the condemnation of the Apartheid regime. Against Beilin and the moralist position stands a wide front of supporters of the real politik position. The leaders of this position are Minister of Defence Rabin, Minister Weitzman, Minister of Trade and Industry Ariel Sharon, Minister Arens, PM Shamir, and with some reservations Shimon Peres. The fact that all of them are ex-ministers of defence or had been connected with the building of the connections with SA, did not happen by chance. Like others they also condemn the Apartheid, but the triumvirate Shamir-Peres-Rabin forced its views in this matter and neutralised the moralist position. Actually the moralist position had no chance from the beginning against such forces. The disagreement between the two positions seemed quite blatant at a certain point, when while speaking to journalists Rabin attacked Yossi Beilin saying that "this small official will not dictate policies". As has happened often in the past, decisions in this matter were made in a atmosphere of secrecy and suspicions.....

Economic relations are also to continue as before. In 1985 the commercial balance between the two countries reached 225 million dollars. Israel purchased South African goods in the sum of 165 million dollars and sold goods in the sum of 65 million dollars. The commercial balance for 1986 will probably reach almost 300 million dollars.

Cheap South African coal feeds the Israeli power station at Hadera, and close to half the Israeli imports for 1986, some 110 million dollars, are defined in the reports of the Israeli Central Office for Statistics, but according to reliable sources they concern iron and steel. The registration fails also to mention that most of the raw diamonds to the sum of a billion dollars per year for the Israeli diamonds industry (the third largest industry in Israel), after mi-

linary industries and fruit export, are purchased from the South African De Beers concern through its marketing company in London. The most important items sold by Israel to SA are chemicals, magnesium and food products. Leading electronics industries in Israel, such as Tadiran, and the large concerns such as Koor and Klal, have representatives in SA. Several partnerships have been established in recent years. One of the larger ones is that of Iskoor, which imports steel from SA and manufactures it at Kiryat Gat. The embarrassing aspect of the economical ties is that most of them are concentrated in the hands of companies which belong to the Histadrut, which is a member of the International of the Free Trade Unions, which declared several years ago economical sanctions on SA. Some of those contracts and partnerships help SA to avoid the economic embargo. A committee appointed by the President of the USA published a week ago a report which clearly states this fact. And this is not yet the report which the President will present to the Congress which is so frightening Israel, but a report initiated by Reagan who is known for his strong opposition to sanctions on SA. Thus, for example, the kibbutz Hanita's steel factory purchases tools from SA and then exports them to Japan, Korea, the Common Market and the USA without the marks either "made in Israel" or "made in SA". These are the connections which Israel would prefer to keep quiet about.

But Israel most fears the exposure of the military technological connections between the two countries. These relations went through a dramatic change in 1974 after the Yom Kippur War. Up to that year the relations between the two countries were on a small scale. There were very few political or economical interactions and they were concentrated mainly round the large Jewish community of SA. Many members of this community regard themselves as Zionists, they joined the Israeli Army in 1948, some of them immigrated to Israel and continue to donate to the Jewish Fund. Up to 1961 Israel had a diplomatic representative in Pretoria while the British Embassy represented SA affairs in Israel. The Israeli Foreign Secretary, Moshe Sharett visited SA in 1951 and the South African PM, D.F. Malan was the first Head of State to visit Israel in 1953, though it was a private informal visit. In the years 1961 - 1967 the relations between the two countries have been cooled... .

"You are few. We are few. You are surrounded by millions of enemies and so are we. The Arabs want to throw you into the sea. The blacks want to drive us out of Africa. In the past you have won and you shall win in the future because you have no other alterna-

tive. We shall also win because we have no other choice" General Van Der Berg, the head of the South African State Security Office, the SA intelligence service, stated so in September 1975 to the journalist Yehoshua Ben Porat. He was thus defining the common elements which should serve as corner stones for the strategic alliance between the two countries. General De Berg was then one of the those who formulated the policy of cooperation on the Axis Jerusalem-Pretoria.

In the beginning of 1976 Minister of Defence Shimon Peres visited Pretoria, once again secretly, and invited the South African PM John Vorster, to make a formal visit to Israel. The details about the visit of Vorster to Israel and the agreements signed by the two countries appear in James Adams' book "The Unnatural Alliance" published in 1984 in London. Vorster then met with PM Rabin and the political and military leadership of Israel. By the end of the visit he signed many commercial and military contracts and an agreement about scientific technological cooperation. Within this agreement there has been nuclear cooperation, mainly in the sphere of information exchange and studies of scientists. In return SA sells Israel the uranium essential for developing its nuclear potential. During the past ten years since the visit of Vorster to Israel, the military ties between the two countries have expanded and became most unique. But contrary to the prevailing myth in the international media, Israel is not considered the largest arms supplier for SA. From this point of view there is great similarity between the will of Israel and the desire of SA. Just as Israel developed its own military industry after the embargo declared by France its main arms supplier, after 1967, and did not abstain from stealing technological military information (the French *Mirage* from a Swiss factory, and the missile boats from Cherbourg in France), so SA was interested after the declaration of the military embargo in the 70's to purchase or steal technological information and not the weapons themselves. Israel agreed to help SA in this matter. The Israeli contribution was most important in developing the South African arms industry - ARMSCOR. The two countries signed many agreements in the field of research and development which were of mutual benefit. Israel always needs funds to finance its research and development, and thus received the required funds. And in return SA received the required knowledge. These agreements are based on the fact that SA finances part of the Israeli development plans. In return it receives the rights to produce weapons it had financed to develop. Thus they manufacture in SA the Uzi sub mac-

hine gun and the Galil gun. Another contract signed during Vorster's visit to Israel was that SA will purchase three missile boats (Reshef) and will receive the rights to manufacture nine boats in SA. These boats are called in SA *Minister* and they are equipped with the sea missiles *Scorpion*. This is the South African version of the Israeli made *Gabriel* missiles. Further aid supplied by Israel was the transfer to SA of the American 155 mm cannons. An American arms company, "Space Research Corporation", sold the system to Israel, and with the help of the arms dealer Soul Eisenberg Israel sold the knowledge to produce the cannon to SA. According to Adams this is a special cooperation between Israeli arms dealers, the CIA, Pentagon and State Department officials, in order to smuggle the technology to the Armscor factories. According to Adams this cannon is capable of carrying nuclear shells. In 1980, Minister of Defence Weitzman visited Pretoria in the attempt to interest SA to join in the air craft Lavi project, Israel's future fighter jet. But to his surprise the South African Air Force commanders rejected the offer to participate in financing the research and development of the *Lavi*. They claimed that the *Lavi* is too sophisticated and therefore does not fit their needs. Instead they decided to cooperate in financing a part of the aeronautics of the *Kfir* airplane. The South Africa newly produced fighter plane *Cheetah* reminds military experts of the form of the Israeli *Kfir*. The British aeronautics Journal *Flight International* published recently a comparison between the two. The detailed article mentions great similarity between the two. Both planes are based on the French *Mirage*. Israel also sold several systems of the pilotless plane to the South African Air Force, a fact that was only revealed when one of them was shot down in 1983 during a flight over the African National Congress camps in Angola. According to other reports in the international press the steel imported by Israel from SA is serving to produce the *Merkava* tank, and in return Israel gave SA knowledge required to improve their tanks and armoured vehicles. Further cooperation was made in the field of training military teams for the Marines, the Air Force and the South African Security Services. Israel has wide experience and knowledge in intelligence and the fight against terrorists and had sent experts to train the South Africans in their struggle against the Swapo underground fighters in Namibia and against the ANC. According to the British *Economist* some 20 such experts were staying in the early 80's in SA.

The American target date, April 1st, was the cause for Rabin's



visit to Pretoria, in order to explain to the South African leaders the problems that Israel is now facing. Rabin explained that the Israeli-South African relations are an important and delicate issue which require quiet and delicate treatment. According to Rabin the moralist position could cause great damage to Israeli economical and military interests. The South African government was told that Israel will now take the new policy of "deprofilization". The Israeli decision makers know that the relations between Israel and South Africa will have to change. The risk of a confrontation with the American Congress seems to them less serious than the benefits and opportunities Israel gets from its relations with South Africa. But they know that it will take a long time to cut the relations with Pretoria. And until they will be able to undo the complex relations the relations will not cease but shall only be transferred to different channels.

In the meanwhile Jerusalem has decided to restrict the presence of advisors and technicians to the necessary minimum, with the intention of pulling all Israeli advisors out of SA in the future. No new contracts in military fields will be signed. PM Shamir is using his visit to Washington to tell President Reagan and especially the Congress, that Israel is not breaking the arms embargo because it does not sell arms to South Africa but only has technological research agreements. Shamir emphasizes that Israel does not intend to renew these contracts. But until these contracts end Israel cannot risk breaking the contracts in the fear of law suits which could reach hundreds of millions of dollars. Israel is thus faced with an uneasy decision. And as usual, the decision will not be clear cut but a compromise. The relations with South Africa will be moderated and restricted, but as long as it will not seriously endanger its relations with the USA and the West, Israel will take no drastic measures. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres expressed this position, saying that "Israel will join the policy taken by the West, but because we are not a leading power we will not initiate the policy". It is possible that such a policy will be understood by Washington, which according to the New York Times continues to import uranium and cobalt and other minerals from South Africa. An American senator dealing with the relations with Pretoria told an Israeli friend recently that "Israel must desire not to be in obvious isolation in its relations with South Africa". In other words, as long as it is in the company of other Western states such as France or Britain, the Congress will find it difficult to accuse it of aiding the racist regime. In such case, it will become apparent once again

that the pessimists were wrong. The reality and the realpolitik are stronger than any cry. But the typical lightheadedness of the Israeli decision-makers can be dangerous. Past experience shows that they do not consider seriously the potential dangers, and as in the past they may attempt to be "too clever". They should be warned not to suffer once again from this syndrome. The risks are too great to play a political military poker game.

*This article was selected from the Hebrew press and translated by Professor Israel Shahak - The Shahak Papers - to whom we extend our thanks. Davar is a leading Israeli newspaper, trade union federation affiliated. This same article, somewhat abbreviated, later appeared in The Washington Post National Weekly Edition, March 9, 1987.*

# An Israeli Dilemma: S African Ties

## Moves to Cut Links Are Slowed by Economic Pressures, Sentiment

*Glenn Frankel*

*Washington Post, September 20, 1987*

*Jerusalem* - Israel's policymaking "inner cabinet" voted last week for a series of measures to constrict its ties with South Africa - but, almost as quickly, that move unraveled, illustrating a painful dilemma for this country.

On Wednesday the inner cabinet voted to adopt 10 measures restricting economic and cultural ties with South Africa- but refused to disclose what the measures were. The next day, the senior civil servant of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce renounced the new steps anyway, saying they could damage Israel's economy, and pointing out that South Africa exported over \$220 million in goods to Israel last year, including 70 percent of the country's coal needs.

On Friday, South African Airways placed ads in local newspapers announcing it was adding a second weekly flight to Johannesburg for the months of September and October. The additional flight had the approval of the ministries of Transportation and Tourism - despite the fact that the measures adopted Wednesday are supposed to curtail travel between the two countries.

When it comes to Israel and South Africa, breaking up is hard to do. Officials here face conflicting imperatives: their desire to get in line with the West, which has adopted a policy of mild but symbolic sanctions, versus Israel's longstanding friendship with the Pretoria government, a relationship that has been important for strategic, economic and, at times, sentimental reasons.

"The new measures may only be symbolic but you shouldn't underestimate their importance," said an official of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, which pushed hard for their adoption. "This was an extremely difficult struggle to win".

The ministry has slowly distanced Israel diplomatically from Pretoria since the Cabinet first decided last March, under intense American pressure, to reduce its ties. Diplomatic contacts between the two old friends have lost their warmth and become, at best, correct. Official visits were curtailed even before Wednesday's deci-

sion.

Some businesses have been pressed by public exposure into pledging an end to major commercial dealings with the South Africans. Kibbutz Beit Alfa agreed to stop selling to the South African police the water cannon that it manufactures for riot control, a device that made its debut in Cape Town last year but whose origins had remained hidden.

And the Histadrut, Israel's giant trade union federation, pledged to let lapse its \$25 million-per-year steel and iron contract with Iskoor, a company owned jointly by the federation-controlled Koor Industries and South Africa's state-run steel corporation. The pledge came after left-wing Knesset member Ran Cohen disclosed the contract and claimed that the federation had set up a dummy Swiss corporation to conceal its role in the sales.

Officials here say Israeli government agencies have begun phasing out military contracts with Pretoria, as promised last March, by not renewing those that lapse. The officials concede that the process will take several years because many of the pacts extend into the 1990s.

It is not possible to verify the claim independently because the contracts are state secrets, but officials contend that the phaseout is one factor in the layoffs this year of more than 5,000 defense industry workers. Published estimates of the annual defense trade between South Africa - conducted in defiance of a U.N. arms embargo that Israel has always claimed to honor - range from \$125 million to \$400 million.

But perhaps most symbolic was an incident last month when the South African Embassy here tried to enlist Israeli help in convincing the foreign ministers of West Germany and Denmark to withdraw invitations to host talks between white South Africans and the African National Congress, the outlawed black resistance movement. Israel, the embassy reasoned, would be sympathetic because of its own long struggle against the Palestine Liberation Organization.

South African Ambassador Edward Anton Loubser took the request directly to the office of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. But a Peres aide, Yousef Beilin, who has led the official campaign to reduce ties, intercepted the message and rejected it. Then he went one step further, disclosing the matter to the Israeli press. "We are no longer a public relations service for the South Africans", Beilin told reporters.

The embassy will not comment on the incident, but Loubser,

with the aid of Israeli and South African industrialists, has waged what political insiders here say is a highly effective campaign to limit the new sanctions.

"Israel and South Africa both drew very close to each other over the years and understand that our relations aren't something superficial," said Loubser in an interview last week. "I am very determined to ensure that nothing should happen to disturb this."

He has much help inside Israel. Unlike in the United States, there is little domestic pressure here for sanctions against South Africa. That is because of the long friendship between Pretoria and Jerusalem, rooted in the early support of South African leaders for an independent Jewish state. The links grew in the 1970s, a time when Israel was shut out of most of black Africa and desperate for economic and strategic allies.

Officials say a number of trade and military agreements remain from a 1976 visit by South African Prime Minister John Vorster. The cement that has helped hold these agreements in place is the support of the 110,000 Jews of South Africa, most of whom support their government's campaign against sanctions.

"Those in the West who are pressuring us about South Africa should always remember that we must take into account the future of our Jewish brothers there," said Yossi Achimeir, spokesman for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "No similar considerations exist for these other nations."

When a special committee recommended to the Cabinet last June new restrictions against South Africa, the panel was soon deluged with angry letters from Jews both here and in South Africa opposing them. Cabinet ministers were intensely lobbied, and eventually postponed a decision indefinitely. "They argued that things were quiet, that the world was reexamining its sanctions policy, so why jump on South Africa now?" said a senior official involved in the debate.

The measures were only revived this week after an equally intense lobbying effort by American Jewish organizations and by a delegation of 22 black American community leaders who warned that Israel might face a challenge in Congress to its \$3 billion in annual aid if it did not follow through on its March commitment to further cut ties. The resulting steps were simply pragmatic, according to Beilin. "I don't believe someone can say relations with South Africa are vital, especially if you compare them with the danger we could have brought upon ourselves of a problem with the American Congress over those ties," he said.

# Israel and South Africa: sidestepping sanctions

*Jane Hunter*

*Middle East International , February 20, 1988*

In the latest phase of its relations with South Africa, Israel is having its cake, eating it and insisting, to great effect, that it is going hungry.

It all began last March, when Israel sidestepped a section of the 1986 US Anti-Apartheid Act that recommended cutting the military aid of nations selling arms to South Africa by declaring it would sign no new arms contracts with Pretoria. So successful was that manoeuvre that in September, when the Anti-Apartheid Act mandated further action, Israel announced another set of sanctions, this time dealing with economic and political relations.

Critics in the US Congress and the Israeli anti-apartheid movement believe the March arms pledge to be largely meaningless, pointing out that Israel has divulged neither the scope nor the duration of the contracts. And Israelis across the political spectrum agreed with Likud's assessment that the September measures, which include a reduction of sports, cultural and scientific ties as well as a ban on "springboarding" South African goods into foreign markets, "are more declarative than substantive".

Israel has already demonstrated the ephemeral quality of both sets of measures, by glibly explaining away several recent transactions with the white regime. Last autumn the Israeli energy minister announced that Israel would send *Astra* "Executive" aircraft to a South African coal company in payment of a commercial contract. Produced by Israeli Aircraft Industries, the *Astra* is advertised as convertible into a marine reconnaissance, signal intelligence, or anti-submarine warfare aircraft - or to an air-to-sea missile platform. South Africa, which has been bemoaning its lack of maritime patrol aircraft, has laws obligating private companies to cooperate with the military.

After the Israeli cabinet voted to cancel the *Lavi* advanced fighter aircraft last August, the white government began what an

Israeli report called "systematically" hiring terminated engineers and technicians, offering salaries of \$7,000 a month. Soon came reports, including one in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, that the Israelis would first work on an upgrade to the *Cheetah* (a *Mirage 3*, made-over in collaboration with the state-owned Israeli Aircraft Industries, into a copy of the Israeli *Kfir*) and would later help set up a plant to build a copy of a more advanced Israeli aircraft.

Prime Minister Shamir denied that Israel has sold South Africa the *Lavi* and other officials argued that the *Lavi* workers with their heads full of secrets were in South Africa as private citizens. However Israel recently decided to complete one last *Lavi* prototype in order to perfect the avionics package for export; a "foreign customer" is said to be in the wings. (The presence of the Israeli technicians, on whatever basis, perpetuates the transfer of advanced technology to South Africa, the very essence of the relationship Israel promised last March to wind down. In this case South Africa's traditional role as financier for Israeli projects has a new twist: it is subsidizing a project which has already absorbed \$1.15 billion, mostly from Israel's US aid package, and which contains a substantial amount of US technology.)

There has been no protest against this in the US. Nor was there reaction to the news in October that, in its latest attack on Angola, South Africa used its *Cheetah* aircraft, as well as drone aircraft and a *Boeing 707* converted to an electronic warfare platform, also acquired from Israel. Possibly this lack of concern accounts for the apparent turnaround of kibbutz Beth-Alfa. Last year the kibbutz announced that it would no longer sell its water cannons to South Africa. But current reports (in conjunction with questions about why Israel itself didn't buy the cannons to use as an alternative to live ammunition against Palestinian demonstrators) suggest it is still selling the water-and tear gas-spewing armoured vehicles to Pretoria.

The new sanctions notwithstanding, Israel did not discourage the star of its national tennis team, Amos Mansdorf, from competing "privately" in the South African Open. But it is trying to keep all aspects of its ties with the minority regime as low-profile as possible. Prior to its declaration last March, Israel informed South Africa that the relationship would have to undergo "deprofilisation". And the white regime, for years accustomed to maintaining strict secrecy over its arms and nuclear weapons collaboration with Israel, has cooperated. (Pretoria has limited itself to tepid attacks on Washington for pressuring Israel to slacken its ties with

the white regime. Perhaps as an antidote, South Africa's ambassador has begun a mild anti-sanctions campaign in Israel, arguing that the strong emotional bonds between the two nations cannot be severed by a stroke of the pen.)

One instance of "deprofilisation" has already come to light. Shortly after the industrial giant *Koor*, owned by the Labor federation *Histadrut*, declared that it was instructing all its companies to terminate their business dealings in South Africa. Mr Ran Cohen disclosed that *Koor* and its South African partner in the Israel-based steel company *Iskoor* had simply created interlocking paper companies in Switzerland. *Iskoor* is a prime suspect in the practice of exporting South African goods under an Israeli label.

Israel's declaration last March was not completely costfree. In order to convince its challengers in Congress that it was moving on the issue, Israel had to admit - for the first time - that it had arms contracts with South Africa and that, at a stunning \$400-800m a year, they were too valuable to walk away from. Nonetheless, despite the reports of its continuing dealings with South Africa, Israel has been able to parlay this down payment into the widespread impression that it has sacrificed its lucrative trade.

The no-new-contracts pledge plays far better in the fastpaced mass media than, say, the two-page resolution urging Israel to immediately halt all arms sales, technology links and sister city ties with South Africa passed in November by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which represents Reform Judaism.

Faced with the choice of condemning Israel's new-look South Africa policy before the fact as insincere or acknowledging its declaration, Israel's most prominent critics in the US Congress and the international arena have been disarmed. Thus Mozambique's President Chissano found it politic to say that Israel's move "away from the apartheid regime....creates new conditions". His embattled government was later reported ready to accept an Israeli development project. Israeli officials also claim that this "new sanctions policy" resulted in the softening of this year's UN resolution condemning Israeli links with South Africa.



# Israelis Help South African Air Force

*Jane Hunter*

*Israeli Foreign Affairs, April 1988*

If South Africa's late February attack on southern Angola can be deemed a success, it must be at least partly attributed to help from Israeli technicians, who, according to the London-based *Africa Analysis*, have been working with the South African air force.

Replicating the techniques the Israelis have used against Syria, Pretoria's air force successfully evaded Angola's most sophisticated radar installations to carry out devastating air strikes against targets near the key military center of Lubango. The Angolan government admitted that the systems "completely failed" and that hundreds of people had been killed.

South Africa has been hammering at Angola since the moment of its independence in 1975 and Israel has been assisting the apartheid regime's assault on the former Portuguese colony since that year. (After the repeal in 1985 of the Clark Amendment forbidding the US to attack Angola, Congress has given \$30 million to South Africa's proxy forces, Unita and might be about to increase that sum.) Late last year there were reports that South Africa was using advanced Israeli weapons - among them a drone (remote-control) aircraft - in its assault on Angola.

The white regime's national arms maker *Armcor* will be displaying a drone at the late March "international" air show in Chile. Many of the weapons it makes are copies of Israeli models, obtained in exchange for financing Israeli research and development.

Israel has not made clear how its direct assistance to the apartheid regime's air force operations will be affected by its pledge in March 1987 to sign no new military contracts with Pretoria - a pledge that, in any event, has never been regarded as very meaningful. Indeed, whatever agreement governs South Africa's development of an aircraft based on Israel's *Lavi* could hardly have been made before Israel decided to ditch the costly aircraft project last August. It is unclear whether there is a government-to-government agreement covering the Israeli engineers who, laid off when the *Lavi* was canceled, have gone to work on aircraft projects

in South Africa. The Manpower agency in Israel said that 40% of the foreign employment offers advertised in Israeli newspapers in January and February were for jobs in South Africa; most desired were electronic and aeronautic engineers and computer programmers.

More Astra "executive aircraft" could figure in barter deals for South African coal which Israel's National Coal Supply Corp is planning, according to company director Ram Rom. In a \$7 million deal last year Israel bartered an unknown number of the aircraft, which its manufacturer, the state-owned Israeli Aircraft Industries, advertises as convertible to military purposes, for 250,000 tons of coal.

The dollar value of Israel's arms trade which the apartheid regime - estimated at \$400-800 million for 1986, with a figure of \$250 million given for 1985 - is hardly a gauge of its strategic value to South Africa. The possibility of Israel, under pressure from Washington, turning off its support for South Africa is listed by the *Economist's* intelligence unit as a possible scenario for increased pressure on the regime.

In Resolution 42/23 D, passed November 30 the UN General Assembly noted Israel's announcement that it would not renew military contracts with South Africa, but

call(ed) upon Israel to desist from and terminate forthwith all forms of military, nuclear, intelligence, economic and other collaboration, particularly its long-term contracts for military supplies to South Africa.

The resolution reaffirmed the earlier resolutions on Israeli-South African relations and requested that the Special Committee against Apartheid to continue to monitor those links.

Despite a second set of "civilian" sanctions Israel announced last September, it has continued to have sports contacts with South Africa. Most recently South African Amanda Coetzer was allowed to play in the Vabessa Phillips women's tournament in Haifa. She won. Earlier, South African squash player Murray Winckler competed in the Seagram-Sabra Open Squash Championships at Israel's Ra'anana Squash Center. And add to the considerable list of Israeli-South African sister cities the pairing of Ashkelon and Port Elizabeth. Other pairings are Haifa-Cape Town, Eilat-Durban, Acre-Simonstown, and the West Bank settlement of Ariel with Bisho, the "capital" of the bantustan Ciskei.





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